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FBIS-EEU-90-081 *26 April 1990*

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Lukanov Weekly News Conference Reported

AU2504203790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] On 25 April, Premier Andrey Lukanov's regularly scheduled news conference took place. He spoke about the basic problems that concern the government and the measures that are being adopted in an attempt to resolve them. Those problems include the country's foreign debt, the state of the domestic market, and the increase in criminal activity.

Andrey Lukanov briefed the journalists on the meeting of representatives of Bulgarian banks with the consultative committee of 10 of the world's major banks. He reported that an agreement has been reached on refinancing the Bulgarian debts during the period between the end of March and 30 June 1990, on the basis of a 90-day short-term loan.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers also spoke about the government's specific measures related to supplying the domestic market with certain goods.

In conclusion, he imparted his concern with the increase in criminal activity in Bulgaria and pointed out that the government is determined to follow a firm but humane policy in anything related to applying the laws. He expressed the wish that the parties refrain from using the issue of crime in the election campaign, or resort to political speculations related to this issue.

More on News Conference

AU2504203890 Sofia BTA in English 1925 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Sofia, April 25 (BTA)—Today the chairman of the Council of Ministers gave assurances that the Government is implementing additional measures both to increase the production of the most needed goods and to import goods.

The concern over the situation in the home market was one of the problems he treated at his regular weekly press conference. These problems are sometimes artificially created, as it is the case with the present ungrounded petrol panic, Mr. Andrey Lukanov said.

He announced that a positive trend is observed in the production of food basics—meat, milk, early vegetables. This fact raises hopes that supply can improve in the near future.

Mr. Lukanov explained that in the next one or two months inflation is not expected to increase; since the end of last year its rate has been fluctuating around 10 per cent. An increase could be expected in the second half of the year, when market economy mechanisms will start to operate. The leader of the Government underlined that it will seek to prevent the uncontrollable growth of inflation.

Mr. Andrey Lukanov stated the position of the Government on combating criminality, stressing that it will follow an unflinching and civilized policy in this field. We will not allow any non-observance of the law and at the same time we will back up all actions taken to improve the conditions in the prisons, he said.

Having in mind the latest prisoners' strikes, Mr. Lukanov stated that it is undesirable and inadmissible to make use of criminality problems for the achievement of political purposes in the election campaign.

The leader of the Government expressed his satisfaction with the meeting held in the FRG by the consultative committee of some of the leading Western banks headed by Deutsche Bank and leaders of the Bulgarian National Bank and the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank at which it was agreed to refinance Bulgaria's liabilities payable in the period from the end of March to June 30 and to negotiate the refinancing of her liabilities payable in the 1990-1991 period.

Proposal To Cut Military Service Viewed

AU2504115790 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 23 Apr 90 pp 1, 3

[Article by Colonel Engineer Veselin Stoyanov: "From 24 to 18 Months"]

[Text] On Friday evening [20 April], Lieutenant General Radnyu Minchev, spokesman of the Ministry of National Defense, announced on the central news program of Bulgarian Television a proposal of the minister of national defense, which was published in the press on the following day. According to this proposal, the period of military service of conscripts in the Armed Forces of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, including those who entered the barracks in March and September 1989 and those who joined in January and March this year, would be reduced from 24 to 18 months, and the acceptance of future conscripts would take place twice a year, in March and September.

The proposal will be submitted to the president of the Republic, who recently instructed Army General Dobri Dzhurov to draft a submission on this question, and after the proposal has been made law, the term of regular military service will be reduced by no less than six months.

The good news undoubtedly cheered the thousands of soldiers who, while honorably fulfilling their duty to their motherland, at the same time are impatiently awaiting the day of their discharge, in order to continue their studies and to fulfill their intellectual and physical capabilities in a great variety of creative and peaceful professions. They will be joyously welcomed by their mothers and fathers, brothers and sisters, wives and girlfriends, relatives and friends, by whom the long separation from the defenders of the fatherland has

always been recognized as a necessity and a most important prerequisite for our survival during the 13 centuries since the creation of the Bulgarian state.

I have no doubt that the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army approached the task of drafting the above proposal with exceptional care and competence, looking at the issue from many aspects and taking into account not only the demands and prudent proposals made by citizens, parties, movements, and organizations, but also the entire spectrum of military strategic factors and realities of the geographical region in which our country lies, so as not to permit the shorter term of service under any circumstances to lead to unfavorable consequences affecting the combat readiness of the various armed services and combat arms. Any other approach would have meant playing an evil joke upon us, and would have placed our national security and sovereignty under threat.

I have no doubt either about the measures which have already been taken or which will be undertaken to an even greater extent to achieve further advances in the organizational structure and combat training programs of the units, with the aim of intensifying the training of the conscripts.

What worries me is something else, namely the negative attitude and the unpardonable machinations evident in the public statements of certain people and the mass media on problems about which they are insufficiently informed, and their efforts to present the difficulties and tensions of everyday army life in a biased, unfavorable light. They want to introduce a split, by comparing some officers to others, and on occasion openly calling upon the soldiers to disobey orders, and by inspiring a wide range of readers, viewers, and listeners with purely negative ideas about army life.

It is true that in the present conditions of glasnost and democratic changes everyone has the right to his own opinion and viewpoint, but what we read, hear, or see on the television only deserves attention, respect, and consideration when it is well thought out and constructive, and does not swing us from one extremity to another.

Is it really difficult to comprehend that such vacillation, concerning an institution which is called upon to guarantee national security and the conditions for a peaceful transition to a democratic society, may acquire a character that is dangerous for all of us?

Is it really possible that the syndrome of opportunism will prevail over common sense, humanity, and elementary standards of political conduct?

Without overestimating the role of the Army and its present top leadership, I cannot fail to recognize who was instrumental in opening the heavily armored door which for decades separated us from democracy and universal human progress.

Without indulging in tearful sentimentality, I cannot deny the courageous efforts of hundreds of intelligent, highly trained, and honorable officers who, at the cost of their personal happiness, careers, health, and, in not a few cases, their lives, fought to gain forward positions in the struggle against the despotic regime.

Without being uncritical, I cannot fail to respect the overwhelming majority of the troop commanders for their sincere efforts and purposeful labor to eliminate once and for all the abuses in disciplinary practice, behind which lie the inhuman actions of certain individuals in breach of the laws and military statutes, as well as wrong attitudes to secrecy, and to eradicate all the deformities which in years past were grafted onto the Army's sound organism.

Before making any comparisons, or in the course of a dispute which is already heated enough, let us first of all be aware that we are Bulgarians, for whom the motherland stands above all personal prejudices, mass actions, and affiliations to one party or another.

Mladenov Receives People's Party Leader Brankov

AU2504215190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] On 25 April, Petur Mladenov, president of the Republic, received Dimitur Brankov, chairman of the Bulgarian People's Party. They exchanged opinions on the political processes that are taking place in the country. The necessity of democratic renewal was confirmed. It was pointed out that this renewal can be implemented only under conditions of civic peace and national consensus.

Working People's Party Constituent Conference

AU2504215090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] On 25 April, at Sofia's "Georgi Dimitrov" Memorial House, the constituent conference of the Party of the Working People [Partiya Na Trudoviya Narod] began. Issues related to the party's name, workers' character, and Marxist orientation were discussed, as well as questions pertaining to the election of a Central Coordination Council, charter, and platform. A decision was adopted to publish a newspaper.

Electoral Commission Reports Party Registrations

AU2504115690 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 24 Apr 90 p 1

[Mitko Bozhkov report: "51 Parties on the Starting Line"]

[Text] Sofia, 23 April—"As of 1400 today, 51 parties and movements have been registered at the Sofia City

Court," reported Dimitur Popov, secretary of the Central Electoral Commission, to the meeting of the commission held today. The desire was expressed to speed up the registration of the election coalitions and the colors of the ballot papers.

It was announced that "Era-3" wants its ballot papers to be purple, but the registration of this color was deferred, because the Central Electoral Commission had not received an official declaration listing the parties included in the coalition advertised by "Era-3." As of yesterday the following colors were declared: Bulgarian Socialist Party, red; Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, orange; and Union of Democratic Forces, light blue.

At its meeting, the Central Electoral Commission also discussed a problem raised in certain telegrams and tips sent to it, namely whether army personnel can be members of the sectional electoral commissions in military units. After a sharp debate a vote was taken, in which the following proposal received the greatest support: The Central Electoral Commission recommends that the executive committees of the municipal people's councils, after consulting the political parties, should include military servicemen as well as civilians in the memberships of the sectional electoral commissions. To put it more simply, these commissions may include soldiers, cooks, bookkeepers and other employees of the Armed Services, but not commanders.

We have been given to understand that the agreement has also been prepared on how the soldiers are to cast their votes and how they may be involved in the election campaign. The contents of this document will be publicly announced.

On Wednesday morning [24 April] the Central Electoral Commission will continue its discussions on problems connected with the voting by Bulgarian citizens who are abroad.

Report on BSP Membership Figures for 1990

AU2504154790 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 24 Apr 90 p 2

[Darina Radeva report: "Younger, Purer, and Stronger"]

[Text] The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] has 986,434 members.

During the first quarter of 1990, 9,080 persons were admitted to the party, equivalent to more than one-half of the total number of new members in 1989. Furthermore, the party's popularity among women increased markedly, since 56.1 percent of the new members are women.

A lower percentage of workers were admitted than in 1989, whereas the proportion of agricultural and white-collar workers increased substantially.

The party membership is no longer growing older: 38.5 percent of those admitted are between 18 and 29 years old, while 7.7 percent are over 50.

As far as the negative figures on those leaving the party are concerned, these are quite natural. BSP membership is no longer connected with personal benefit or an easy way to make a career. While we do not claim that these motives apply to all, they are undoubtedly of significance for the majority of the 2,155 members who have left the party.

During the first quarter of 1990, 2,201 people were expelled from the party. The purging of the party does not and cannot constitute a campaign, but the concept of "the command-administrative system" includes specific names which gave it a particularly monstrous appearance, and the difficult process of ridding the party of such people has already begun.

Paper Accuses BSP of Making Currency Deals

AU2504202990 Sofia BTA in English 1942 GMT 25 Apr 90

["DEMOKRATSIYA Accuses BSP"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, April 25 (BTA)—The blank in today's DEMOKRATSIYA, the cause for which was that the manuscript of an article that exposes the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] as having made a deal that brought it a considerable amount in U.S. dollars disappeared, was filled in this evening in the central transmission of the television.

Documents were shown on television from which it becomes obvious that at a moment when there is a great shortage of paper in Bulgaria, by order of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations 300 tons of newsprint were reexported to Switzerland, the value of which, amounting to 101,491.04 U.S. dollars, is payable to the account of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] (BSP).

Lilov Urges Memorial to Political Victims

AU2504114890 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 24 Apr 90 p 1

[Text] A memorial should be dedicated to those who perished in the political struggles from the time of Bulgaria's liberation to the present, in order to remind us that violence is not the way to democracy.

Aleksandur Lilov made his proposal in the first election transmission on behalf of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] on Bulgarian Television. It is in response to the initiative put forward by President Petur Mladenov that the political parties should sign a document committing themselves not to rule by forceful means, not to violate the law or citizens' rights, and not to take revenge or to oppress people.

The future memorial, which might be sited in one of Sofia's central squares, might bear the inscription "Liberty and Democracy," and reflect the determination of the political forces and all the people to put an end to the political struggles in which violence played a large part.

Let us unite our efforts, appealed Aleksandur Lilov, in closing the pages of violence and making a start on the road of democracy.

In the first "Election Studio" program, the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union did not use the time allotted to it.

The Union of Democratic Forces used one minute in order to announce its forthcoming transmissions under the motto "The Time Is Ours."

The Bulgarian Telegraph Agency has issued a reminder about the agreement that permits transmission of television materials of up to two minutes duration which have been produced outside the country.

Militia Section Chief on Privately Owned Arms

AU2504154490 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 24 Apr 90 pp 1,3

[Report on interview with Major Emil Kamenov of the People's Militia by Nikolay Gavrilov; place and date not given: "The Dangerous Weapons Control Section Is in Action"]

[Excerpt] According to Major Emil Kamenov, chief of the Dangerous Weapons Control Section of the Department for Defense of Public Order in the Directorate of the People's Militia, services like the one he commands have existed in Bulgaria for more than 100 years. Moreover, the illegal possession of weapons has always been regarded as a crime everywhere in the world, just as in Bulgaria. The Dangerous Weapons Control Section, which is now on the offensive, has undertaken the exercise of control over explosives, weapons, ammunition, and self-acting toxic substances. It is about to engage in a new form of activity, namely, the control of radioactive substances.

The interview was held at a highly topical time. At its last session, the National Assembly approved an appeal for the voluntary surrender of weapons in the possession of the population, and the one-month period of amnesty expires on 6 May. That is to say, until then anyone who voluntarily hands in a weapon will not be prosecuted either before or after this date under Article 339 of the Penal Code, which provides a penalty of from two to five years imprisonment.

"The time has come," said Major Kamenov, "for us to open up the secret dossiers to journalists. I personally am more than happy to do this; we have nothing to hide anymore. Within the next few days, Minister Atanas Semerdzhiev will probably be given the final data on the numbers of weapons surrendered. At the moment I can tell you that everything is proceeding normally and peacefully. At the end of this week (20-21 April) over 260 weapons and more than 10,000 rounds of ammunition had been handed in."

Is this a large or small figure, how are things proceeding, and can we compare the figures with those from other years, prior to 10 November 1989 for example? My interviewee, a man with almost 15 years experience in this field, answered these questions as follows:

"Personally I did not believe that the citizens would respond so actively and with such a sense of responsibility to this appeal. Such a response, however, was very necessary, given the situation in Bulgaria, the preelection feelings, and the heightened political fervor. Weapons are being surrendered to local military units, and also being delivered to the Directorate of the People's Militia. I can certainly say that most of the weapons were collected within a short period; according to our calculations, only a small proportion of weapons now remain. I will mention something else. It is well-known that a number of state, public and party figures also possessed weapons. In this connection, 1,801 weapons have already been collected from these people up to 16 April, and 67 weapons remain uncollected. The same applies to the weapons held by non staff employees of our ministry. [passage omitted]

Prison Strikes 'Settled Without Violence'

AU2504142490 Sofia BTA in English 1331 GMT 25 Apr 90

["End of Strikes in Prisons"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, April 25 (BTA)—Conflicts in the prisons in Sofia and other cities of this country, which had been affected by "a wave" of prison strikes over the last days have been settled without violence.

Angel Dzhambazov, first deputy minister of justice specified at a press conference here that seven of the prisoners are still refusing to get off the roof of the Sofia prison. They have been convicted of numerous housebreakings.

Ten people which had been on remand were released from the Sofia prison. They had been detained there illegally as the six month term set for detention of a person during an inquiry had expired.

Events from the last days have shown how many problems prisons in Bulgaria have, Angel Dzhambazov said. He said he will visit all prisons in the country in the frameworks of the prepared improvement of regime, living conditions and other measures for solving the problems of the penitentiary system.

The members of the social and state commission whose contribution to the success of the negotiations was stressed at the press conference will also become acquainted with the problems of prisons and prisoners. Among the members of this commission is Rumen Vodenicharov, chairman of the Independent Association

for Protection of Human Rights, who expressed satisfaction with his cooperation with the new leadership of the Ministry of Justice and the Board of Prisons.

The prisoners' demand for a general act of grace has not been met. Angel Dzhambazov characterized as ungrounded the attempts of the criminals, most of whom are recidivists, to present themselves as "victims of the totalitarian regime and its justice."

Angel Dzhambazov and the head of the Board of Prisons, Zdravko Traykov, expressed conviction that an agreement will also be reached with the officers in the prison guard. The staff protests against the accusations directed at them by some of the mass media and insist for normalization of the situation in prisons and warn to hand in a collective resignation, if their problems are not solved by the end of April.

Academy Notes Shortcomings in Academic Research

AU2504184690 Sofia BTA in English 1650 GMT 25 Apr 90

["The Shortest Meeting of Academy"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, April 25 (BTA)—"We cannot be pleased with the results of our scientific activity" said today the deputy-chairman and chief scientific secretary of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, cor. member Ivan Iliev at a general meeting at which an assessment was made of Bulgarian scholars achievements for 1989. He explained his dissatisfaction with the small number of scientific developments and projects which can help Bulgaria get out of the crisis.

Last year's, most significant Bulgarian scientific achievements in the sphere of mathematics and informatics, physics, biology and chemistry, science and land and technical sciences and ethnographic research were made a review of, after tradition. But problems were far more numerous: they covered branches and scientific activity, the ratio between fundamental and applied research, the number of scientific workers, the structures of the scientific units which had not been changed for years, non-coordinated developments and non-efficient scientific cooperation, information insecurity of research work. But they were not discussed. The report of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences for 1989 was approved. Only Academician Radoslav Kashev said that the work of the Bulgarian Scholars should be assessed with the respective arguments and in relations with the needs of society and that scientific institutes should not assess themselves their own activity, without making comparison between themselves and world criteria.

Today's general meeting of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences was one of the shortest.

Petrov, Indzhev Appointed BTA Deputy Directors

AU2504133090 Sofia BTA in English 1218 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Sofia, April 25 (BTA)—After Mr Georgi Todorov was appointed director general of the Bulgarian News Agency (BTA) last month, Mr Khristo Petrov and Mr Ivo Indzhev were appointed deputy directors general today.

Mr Khristo Petrov was born in 1948. He is an English and American literature graduate from the Kliment Okhridski University of Sofia. He served as a BTA correspondent to Rome, Italy, between 1979 and 1986. Since 1986 he has been editor in chief of the BTA External Services Department.

Mr Ivo Indzhev was born in 1955. He has graduated in history from the M. V. Lomonosov State University of Moscow. Between 1983 and 1987 he was a BTA correspondent to Beirut, Lebanon. Since then he has been working as deputy editor in chief of the International News Desk Department.

Inventors Roundtable Ends, Changes Demanded

AU2504205590 Sofia BTA in English 2007 GMT 25 Apr 90

["Innovators Insist on Radical Changes"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, April 25 (BTA)—The national roundtable on the problems of invention and intellectual property ended this evening at the National Palace of Culture with the approval of a declaration. In the declaration it insisted on radical changes in the patent legislation and on the adoption of a package of urgent measures by the state for the improvement of the conditions for invention.

Stating that the mass discontent of inventors has reached a critical point, the participants in the national roundtable talks make demands for normative changes which would result in eliminating the monopoly of the state on inventions and would provide their protection by patents, by the creation of mechanisms that will privatize the developments protected by author's certificates, by broadening the rights of inventors and increasing their pay.

It is proposed to set up a national investment fund on stockholding principles with an initial fixed capital of 100 million leva for crediting important Bulgarian inventions.

Trenchev Praises Solidarity, Denounces Communists

AU2504152790 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 24 Apr 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Anticommunist Statement by Trenchev in Poland"]

[Text] Gdansk, 23 April (UPI)—The "Solidarity" Movement in Poland inspired "the fight against totalitarianism" in Romania and Bulgaria, said trade union representatives from these two countries yesterday.

Konstantin Trenchev, leader of the Bulgarian "Podkrepa" Trade Union, who attended the "Solidarity" congress as an observer, stated at a news conference that his organization is the second largest independent trade union in the Eastern bloc after "Solidarity."

"Solidarity" was the movement that started the liberation of East Europe from the Red plague," [quotation marks as published] emphasized Konstantin Trenchev.

"Not only should all Communists be blamed for the repressions against the Bulgarians, but the killers should be punished according to the law," Trenchev stated, referring to the many trials at which innocent persons were condemned to death because of their noncommunist views during Todor Zhivkov's rule.

Trenchev reminded his audience that "Podkrepa" has spoken out in defense of the persecuted Turkish minority in Bulgaria and protested against the campaign of forced assimilation, including the changing of the Turkish names.

"No Turkish problem existed in Bulgaria before the Communists began the forced assimilation," he pointed out.

Thousands of Turks have left Bulgaria as a result of this policy.

Cooperation Agreement With UNIDO Signed

AU2504184090 Sofia BTA in English 1529 GMT 25 Apr 90

["Cooperation With UNIDO"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, April 25 (BTA)—The conservation of environment and the light industry are the main fields of the future cooperation between Bulgaria and the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO). An agreement on this was reached at the second session of the Joint Commission for Cooperation Between Bulgaria and UNIDO.

Joint activity in shipbuilding, marine technology and strategic industrial planning will be extended and the participation of Bulgarian firms in the implementation of the UNIDO program in the production of consumer goods and electronic equipment, in the chemical and the pharmaceutics industry, the production of new materials and in the field of biotechnology will be broadened.

At the session the Bulgarian side stated its need to make use, through UNIDO, of the experience of the developed industrial countries in the restructuring of the economy and its orientation to the free market.

Friendship Society With Israel To Be Formed

AU2504114490 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 24 Apr 90 p 1

[Text] At 1700 on Friday, 27 April, a constituent meeting will be held in the large hall of the Academy of Sciences at No. 1, 7 November Street, for the purpose of founding a Bulgarian-Israel Friendship Society.

All those who wish so are welcome to attend.

[signed] Initiative Committee.

Further Reportage on Havel Visit to Israel

Havel Reportedly Offers Mediation

TA2504121990 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1100 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] President Hayim Herzog hosted Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel for a luncheon and for a closed meeting with the participation of the foreign ministers of both countries and their ambassadors.

Our correspondent Nava Kohen reports that President Havel proposed mediating between the conflicting sides in the Middle East if they should ask him. We have come to learn, since we know very little about the Middle East conflict, Havel said. President Herzog briefed his guest on the Middle East conflict and pointed out that the peace process is making progess, although there are many obstacles in the way. He also informed the guest of the Israeli Government's position on the intifadah and presented a lecture on Israel's democratic system.

President Havel arrived at noon in a Czechoslovak Air Force plane with an entourage of 25 public figures, including representatives of the Czechoslovak Jewish community.

Comments on Mideast Conflict

LD2504125290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] [Announcer] As you heard in our news bulletins, CSFR President Vaclav Havel began his official visit to Israel today [25 April]. On the eve of his departure, he granted an exclusive interview to two representatives of the largest Israeli daily papers. Czechoslovak radio was there too, thanks to editor Jiri Vejvoda. We have selected the most topical part from the interview:

[Vejvoda] And this most topical part of the interview of course concerned the vision with which Vaclav Havel is traveling to Israel as the first president of an East European country to visit since 1948, when this Middle Eastern state—small in territory but large in importance—was born. Furthermore, this state visit is taking place only a few days after Pope John Paul II visited our country. Therefore, has Prague become a kind of a spiritual link on the Rome-Jerusalem route? And something else: Will the stay in Israel be the first visit by Vaclav Havel to Asia?

[Begin Havel recording] I would like to say, first of all, that this will not be my first visit to Asia. I visited the Central Asian republics of the Soviet Union some years ago—in 1967. I would also like to say that I am not going to Israel to be the first, as you have said, but for much more serious reasons.

Czechoslovak policy proceeds from respecting human rights, it proceeds from the idea of the indivisibility of peace. The present democratic power in Czechoslovakia has grown out of the movement for human rights. We used to be a kind of opposition. We used to be so-called dissidents, and we used to strive for respect for human rights. We do not forget this origin of our movement, and we want it to be laid in the foundations of our policy. As for the idea of indivisibility of peace, if there is a war and people anywhere in the world suffer, then this is as if we ourselves are suffering. If there is anywhere in the world a lack of freedom, then this is as if we ourselves are not free. This is why our policy, within the framework of our limited powers, seeks to demonstrate our interests in peace everywhere in the world, to attempt to contribute to it, and it is also accompanied by a kind of idea of tolerance, of ecumenism, and thus there is a kind of a connection between the fact that the pope has left and that three days later we are going to Israel. [end recording]

[Vejvoda] Our president admitted in an interview for the Israeli media that he is not a leading expert on the issue of Middle East conflicts. Despite this he has made it quite clear that Czechoslovak diplomacy would like to contribute to peace in the Promised Land and he was, naturally, immediately asked if the recent visit of Palestinian President Yasir 'Arafat was useful in any way.

[Begin Havel recording] Of course I cannot in one evening or in two to three hours draw any far-reaching conclusions. Nevertheless, it seems to me—if I do not judge from the official speeches and toasts and statements, but if I judge from that which we told each other in private—tete-a-tete—then it is my impression, or at least he assured me, that he is interested in Israel's accepting Mr Baker's peace plan and he asured me that he is ready to hold talks immediately with any Israeli representative who would be prepared to hold talks with him and that he does care about a peaceful settlement and peaceful coexistence between Palestinian and Israeli people. How serious he really is about this I of course cannot judge, but this is what he told me. [end recording]

Welcomed by Israeli Leaders

LD2504181790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Excerpt] [Announcer] CSFR President Vaclav Havel began an official visit to Israel today [25 April]. Here are more details on his first day from our correspondents Michal Michalcik and Jiri Vejvoda:

[Vejvoda] Jerusalem and its surroundings are in a blaze of greenery; the rain ended a week ago, and two weeks ago, they say, you could even see snow here. Today, however, the sun is shining and has been out all day, perhaps in honor of the Czechoslovak guests. The program of the first day of the state visit by Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel and his official delegation is culminating this evening—you are one hour behind us—as the president sets off for the residence of his counterpart, Chaim Herzog, for an official dinner at which speeches are expected. A handful of Czechoslovak newsmen, including radio representatives, have also

been invited. Now I shall hand it over to my colleague, who sums up today's program in Jerusalem.

[Michalcik, in Slovak] As of today, Vaclav Havel is the first president of a Central or East European country to visit the state of Israel in the 42 years of its history. This point was highlighted in the official welcoming speech in the rose garden by the Israeli President Chaim Herzog, who welcomed the current democratic changes in Czechoslovakia. Present at the official ceremony were almost all the government and political leaders of Israel: acting Premier Yitzhaq Shamir, Foreign Minister Moshe Arens, and Labor Party chief Shi'mon Peres. President Vaclav Havel had a meeting with all these three early this evening for short talks lasting 30 minutes. Michael Zantovsky, the president's press secretary, will be briefing newsmen shortly on some specific results. However, it is clear that the president—and he indicated this even before his departure for Jerusalem—will be offering his services as a mediator to the Israeli side, as well as suggestions and stimuli for beginning an Israeli-Palestinian dialogue. [passage omitted]

CTK Covers Visit

LD2504230890 Prague CTK in English 2040 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Jerusalem April 25 (CTK Correspondent)—The visit of President Vaclav Havel closes the past era and revives the deep and sincere friendship between Czechoslovakia and Israel, Knesset (parliament) speaker Dov Shilansky said here today welcoming the Czechoslovak president in Knesset.

Vaclav Havel arrived here today for a three-day official visit to Israel.

Dov Shilansky recalled his imprisonment in Nazi concentration camps where he could see the heroism of the Czech and Slovak people. He recalled also the Munich Agrement of 1938 when the "free and cultural world sold Czechoslovakia". (Under the agreement, Czechoslovakia had to cede its border areas to Nazi Germany. In its ultimate consequences, the agreement led to the disintegration of the country.)

Vaclav Havel voiced the pleasure to visit Knesset, pointing out that Israel has been building democracy for 42 years while Czechoslovakia only for three months after 42 years of a totalitarian regime; the president said that Czechoslovakia can probably learn many a lesson from Israel.

Vaclav Havel stressed that the aim of his visit is to establish real and sincere friendship between the two countries' people.

He and his entourage then met with Israeli parliamentary officials for short round-table talks. Outside the parliament, Vaclav Havel laid a wreath at the monument to those who died in Arab-Israeli wars.

From Knesset, Vaclav Havel, accompanied by Israeli President Hayim Herzog, laid a wreath at the tomb to the spiritual father of the Israeli state, Theodor Herzl.

In the evening, he had separate meetings with Israeli Premier Yitzhaq Shamir, Foreign Minister Moshe Arens, and with Shim'on Peres.

Yitzhaq Shamir told journalists that they had a friendly, interesting discussion concerning the two countries' new relations. They also dealt with the Middle East conflict to the settlement of which President Vaclav Havel would like to contribute but is well aware that this is most difficult.

The Czechoslovak president also informed the premier of his talks with Palestinian President Yasir 'Arafat in Prague, in helping solve problems connected with Jewish emigration from the USSR.

Tonight, President Hayim Herzog hosted a dinner in honour of Vaclav Havel. In toasts, both presidents spoke mainly about the historical importance of the current visit and about the beginning of a new era in Czechoslovak-Israeli relations.

Assembly Committees Statement on Lithuania

LD2504141390 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1300 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] The foreign committees of both chambers of the Federal Assembly adopted a stand on Lithuania today. In it they state that every nation has the right to independence and sovereignty and that in the solution of problems of achieving and renewing independence, any kind of military intervention is impermissible.

The economic pressure used to solve these problems is at variance with the thinking of the progressive world at the end of the 20th Century. All disputed questions and problems have to be solved by negotiations. Any compromise reached should not be a concession by one side but an achievement of a joint stand respecting the justified views and demands of both sides.

The adoption of the statement was preceded by a report on the situation in Lithuania by Zdenek Cerny, a representative of the Foreign Ministry. He said that in all Baltic republics the old political structures are collapsing. He appreciated the violence- free and peaceful form of these changes so far.

Clarify Position

LD2504231590 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Although the task of the Federal Assembly deputies is to discuss by Saturday in the committees around 25 drafts of additional new laws, they must, at the same time, discuss other important questions, too. Today we watched the work of the members of Foreign Affairs Committees of the two chambers. They voiced their

views on the situation in Lithuania. Various views were heard here, beginning with the standpoint to not interfere in the Soviet Union's internal affairs, right up to the demand to take up a tough and unequivocal stance. In order to clarify the whole problem, the deputies invited a Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs representative and asked for the latest information.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker] What is your stance on the economic pressure from the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government?

[Unidentified Foreign Ministry official] Well, we proceed first and foremost from the premise that this has so far not constituted pressure from the Soviet Union against a foreign country. It is pressure against one of the Soviet Union's republics. This means that this is an internal affair. However, we also proceed from the premise that economic pressure is at variance with the way of thinking in the period at the end of the 20th century and that it should end.

[Speaker] Has the Lithuanian government already asked for our support?

[Official] The Lithuanian government has asked in general for support for its stance, but it did not demand that we recognize the Republic of Lithuania.

[Speaker] Mr. Chairman, what then is the final standpoint of the Foreign Affairs committee deputies?

[Chairman] We are not in favor of sanctions. We denounce sanctions, and we denounce any kind of pressure. We demand that actions take the two sides into consideration and that these actions convey a sense of compromise, but not the sort of compromise that would constitute a unilateral concession. [end recording]

CPCZ Urges 'Restraint,' Dialogue in Lithuania

AU2604120190 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Apr 90 p 2

[Statement by Josef Hora, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee press spokesman: "Interference Will Not Help"]

[Excerpts] The Lithuanian Communist Party has sent the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia an appeal adopted at the fourth session of its Central Committee plenum in which it appeals to all left-wing and progressive parties. In the appeal, it calls for the renewal of Lithuanian independence and emphasizes that "parliament's declaration of independence has initiated a new era in the history of the Lithuanian people." [passage omitted on the appeal's contents]

The Lithuanian issue has escalated dangerously during the past few days. The important values and processes resulting from Soviet restructuring—the renewal of socialism, the construction of a democratic society in the USSR, and its nations' right to self- determination—are at stake. A further culmination of tension in Lithuania could have unforeseen consequences for the positive developments in Europe and in the European left wing.

The situation that has arisen will not be resolved by unilateral steps. Outside interference will also not help in calming the situation down. In our opinion, the only realistic methods toward seeking a way out are mutual restraint and a sensible political dialogue which will respect the interests of all the parties concerned as well as the nations' rights to self-determination, freedom, and democracy. From this point of view, historical experiences speak volumes. We believe that the Soviet leadership and the Lithuanian representatives will display sufficient political responsibility, prudence, and courage. This would be in the interest of maintaining stability in Europe and in the world.

Flights to Hanoi Suspended Effective 'Immediately'

AU2504160590 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 20 Apr 90 p 2

[Unattributed report from the "Briefly" column]

[Text] After evaluating all economic and operational aspects, the management of Czechoslovak Airlines [CSA] has been forced to make a decision to suspend immediately its regular CSA flights to Hanoi.

Sacher Statement Responds to Lis Criticism

AU2504135590 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 21 Apr 90 p 3

[Statement by Interior Minister Richard Sacher in response to the interpellation by Ladislav Lis, Chamber of Nations' deputy, at the Federal Assembly in Prague on 19 April]

[Text] Esteemed chairmen, esteemed deputies, ladies and gentlemen, this is probably the most sharply worded interpellation against a member of the Government of National Understanding. What am I supposed to say? I believe that I should speak briefly and succinctly.

I was surprised myself when I learned from yesterday's television broadcast that I had allegedly said that the Communists are demanding my removal. It is true that people standing in front of the parliament building did chant such slogans and did say things like this. However, I have found that there are about three witnesses who can testify that I allegedly said that Communists are demanding my recall. I said that some people who did not want to learn the truth wish that I be recalled. I said this in front of the parliament building as well as at the St. Wenceslas statue, where I had been asked to come. None of the Communist deputies, or anyone from their organs, has come to me about this matter, no one has pressured me, nor has anyone spoken with me about this subject.

It is not my style to say one thing and do something else. I am not interested in adding fuel to the fire at all. My interest is that our society be a society capable of entering the elections in a matter-of-fact manner, without unnecessary passions, emotions, half-truths, and frictions.

On Tuesday [17 April] I was asked by some members of the Civic Forum Coordinating Center to resign. I was reproached basically for the same things that were pointed out by Dr. Lis, Defense and Security Committee chairman. I agree with the idea that those who have compromised themselves should go. People did not begin to compromise themselves at the moment when I took over the ministerial position to which I had been nominated. This started in the 1950's, when some people intensively and actively participated in building totalitarian structures; these people are active even today. Many do not want to know this truth. Please allow me to make the following digression: When the esteemed members of parliament have time, let them leaf through RUDE PRAVO of 19 December 1952 or MLADA FRONTA of 10 December 1952. These are worth reading. We are opening the archives. We have made the documents that pertain to Dr. Engineer Hromadko available. One of the deputies present here has described the situation to me when his family, and he himself as a young boy, came to see his father in a camp; his father was brought on a stretcher and was virtually thrown behind bars. That is what they called a visit. That is when the construction of totalitarian structures began, not in the years 1968-69 as we frequently say, but in the 1950's. In those years rivers of innocent people's blood were flowing. It was during this period that the camps were built in which people were interned without a fair trial. It is an irony that people who worked in Security prior to 1948 and who took an active part in the February putsch, people who were given the highest decorations and who were extraordinarily promoted for this putsch, and people who also worked in the Security in the 1950's are being offered to me and pushed for posts as my colleagues at the Interior Ministry.

Whom do I mean by that? For instance, those from the so-called Expert Commission. One member of this commission, which operates in the Interior Ministry, states in his defense that he actively carried out operations during the period of Victorious February, above all by arresting and interrogating the leading participants of Drtina's cabinet, by occupying and inspecting the National Socialist Party secretariat, and by occupying Melantrich [publishing house]; he was a member of the Peoples' Militia staff as an intelligence officer, and he states that Deputy Pavel was his commander, and so on. We could go on and on like this.

We have heard here that there are many people who belong to the old structures of the ministry apparatus. This is true; I agree with this. I have never said—and it would be irrational to want to say—that those people who belong to the old structures of the Interior Ministry apparatus should stay in the ministry apparatus. However, it is possible, in certain cases, to proceed step by step. It would be the same as saying that the [National Security] members who patrol the streets should be replaced because they are defending the old structures. The absurdity of this demand is obvious. It would be the same if a new enterprise director threw out all the people who had belonged to the apparatus of the former director. Who will work on the payroll and who will manage the warehouses and administration? The important thing is to place these people under control and supervision and to let new people grow in their presence. These new people will learn the routine—I do not want to say the old methods of work—but everything that requires a routine. No one will acquire this routine by himself if he has not been at his workplace for a while. I want to say that there are systematic pressures being applied toward paralyzing the ministry apparatus, the purpose of which is to separate me from executive components and from information and to gradually paralyze Interior Ministry operations.

The point is clear. To substitute the existing persons with those who had to leave in 1968-69 because they did not agree with the Warsaw Pact armies' entry into Czechoslovakia. Yet, not all of them had to leave for this reason. A number of people left because personal accounts had been settled. A number of those directed to me as experts are exactly the people who helped to build the totalitarian structures about which we have spoken.

The people recommended to me manipulate the Defense and Security Committee. Part and parcel of their strategy is to pressure the minister to adopt important decisions which are doubtful, while, at the same time, they bear no responsibility whatsoever for the impact such decisions may have. I can say that today something which could be called a shadow administration of the Interior Ministry has been formed.

The overall strategy consists of taking control of the Federal Interior Ministry and of paralyzing the security system and the government as well. I must say that after my nomination it was not possible for me to select my deputy ministers. If these deputies do not comply with their tasks it is not possible for me to recall them, according to the regulations that are in force. The situation has already gone so far that one of my deputies, who is incapable of complying with the given tasks, attacks me openly in the press and artificially describes this situation as a dispute between the minister and all his deputies; the deputies organize news conferences, secret meetings, and so on. Such a situation is quite unusual in an organization administered in a military manner.

Another form of asserting the influence of certain totalitarian forces in the Interior Ministry is the Screening Commission and the Expert Commission at the Federal Interior Ministry, whose personnel have been recommended—and often also dictated—to me. These very

commissions have, in cooperation with one of the deputies, created a shadow Interior Ministry. The Expert Commission, which is the minister's expert commission, prepared material which was presented to the Defense and Security Committees before it was presented to me. This material states specifically which people may or may not operate within the department, what the jurisdiction of the minister and his deputies should be, and so on.

I want to say that if a minister is to be held responsible, then he has to have the authority to select people and to determine the departments' mainstream of operation.

I am not authorized to judge the responsibility of the persons who are being recommended to me and who in the 1950's participated in the creation of such structures which today we call totalitarian. I am quite sure, however, that such people have no moral right to dictate their will and demands and to screen the ministry's personnel.

In their endeavor to discredit the government by arguing that the government would not be able to ensure state security against the activity of special services and international terrorist organizations, these people have not been able, in the course of two months, to create a sensible outline of the activity in this department nor have they been able to acquire a valuable intelligence report.

Also, the work of the Screening Commission is aimed at the creation of such conditions as would disable the activity of the security system. Mr. Prochazka has been entrusted with heading the screening commissions. The activity of the screening commissions leads very often to throwing out experts and replacing them with some careerists, and the commission often makes subjective decisions rendering an objective judgment of affairs impossible.

It happens that a person does not pass the screening process because he—I quote word by word—did not repent enough. On the other hand, the former State Security deputy chief who worked in the internal intelligence department has passed the screening.

With the participation of the persons whom we already have talked about, a secret meeting was held without the minister's knowledge to which all deputies were invited. The results are ultimatums regarding personal and administrative matters.

The situation has gone so far that, during my official trip abroad, an investigation was initiated by the Czech Republic Prosecutor General into the matter of the so-called vetting of members of parliament. Some of my officials were summoned to the vetting, despite the well-known fact that I would be returning to the country the following week. The interrogation of my officials was preceded by a meeting on the previous day held by Mr. Lis, chairman of the Defense and Security Committee, in which Mr. Prochazka, deputy minister, the Director of the Office for the Defense of the Constitution and Democracy, and a member of the new Expert Commission took part.

The aim of this action—which concerned the minister—was to discredit the absent minister in front of parliament and public and to gain arguments for his recall—that is, to drive a wedge between the government and parliament.

Upon my return from abroad, I spoke with Dr. Lis, chairman of the Defense and Security Committee, and I was labeled—in the presence of other people—as a person who had seriously violated the Constitution and who seriously violates the law. I take the liberty of describing what I did to violate this law.

An integral part of the internal and organizational administration of the Federal Interior Ministry is the statistical and record-keeping department. Registration data on persons who have been in some kind of contact with the Interior Ministry are concentrated here in this record-keeping department, in the so-called central filing system [ustredni operativni evidence]. This system consists basically of cards on which a name and pertinent numerical code are given. At the same time, the card also indicates the location in the accessible archive [operativni archiv] where more data pertaining to this person can be found. As soon as I found out that the director of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy was focusing on vetting the deputies and on searching for specific data pertaining to individuals, not only in the central filing system but also in the accessible archive, and that he was also searching for data on individuals in sensitive political positions and close to important political functionaries —a large number of individuals have been vetted without my prior knowledge and information has been passed on to certain persons—instead of working on the basic conceptual outline for his office, I informed the director that such a course of action was not permitted and I forbade it. Simply, any piece of information may only be provided by the ministry with my knowledge. As soon as I was informed by the statistical and record-keeping department that the director of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy also intended to vet members of parliament, I became suspicious about his intentions in vetting the members of parliament—that is, why he was interested in such information. I came to the conclusion that this was a dangerous—very dangerous—practice. Individuals who have, or rather had, certain relations with the Interior Ministry could easily be blackmailed politically. That is why I prohibited this activity. When I saw, however, that—despite this prohibition—there were more attempts to get the information in an illegal manner—for example, one official was asked to vet Mr. Michael Kocab— I could not stand by any longer and let more infringements take place. That is why I have used the book which I found here on the bench in parliament and which lists the names of all members of parliament to get your cards removed from the files in the record-keeping department as well as from

the accessible archive, and I locked both in a safe so that the material is legally and physically inaccessible because I was of the opinion that under certain circumstances real political blackmail could take place, which could possibly lead to a 'breakdown of state and political structures.

The keys to the safe are here, they are sealed. I do not strive to have access to this material. I am not at all interested in deputies' cards and their relations with the Security, but I think that it would be appropriate that the cards of other individuals also be removed in the same manner—this applies to governments and national councils. Only with the permission of certain selected individuals—presumably chiefs of these institutions—would access to those files be permitted. In this manner, misuse of the information stored there would be prevented.

I do not think that my action was either anticonstitutional or illegal. The immunity of deputies has not been violated in any way. On the contrary, I believe that in the circumstances I have done all I could for the stabilization of the political situation here. (applause)

In this connection, I would like to express appreciation for the resolute action taken by Deputy Minister Samel, who, by his order, made it impossible to access expert knowledge [poznatky odborneho charakteru] in regional offices and who made sure that it is sealed and protected—that is to say—inaccessible.

It was said here that we were being vetted without our consent. Esteemed deputies, ladies, and gentlemen, I really do not have time to vet members of parliament nor any interest in doing so. As I have said, my goal was to protect those materials that could be misused during this period, in which state secrets are sometimes treated—I ask your forgiveness—like dirt.

Maybe very little has been done in this ministry. As far as the replacement of officials is concerned, I have already given my opinion. Of course, we want to replace the apparatus, but I repeatedly say that we cannot replace all this apparatus immediately.

As far as Major Novotny, chief of the internal organizational administration, is concerned, he has been replaced by a person who has been working with him for a period of two to three months and who is now to take over his position.

Only three of the total number of former chiefs of the Federal Interior Ministry offices have remained in their positions: the chief of the sports departments, the chief of the construction department, and the chief of the passport and visas department.

Maybe little has been done in this department. Nevertheless, I believe that —the way we have been working—enough has been done to prevent the sort of things that have been happening in Romania.

As far as my alleged inactivity and paying for the unnecessary large apparatus of State Security—which has been put into reserve—are concerned, I take the liberty to note that the material which would permit the legal period for which the [security] members are put into reserve to be reduced was made available by me to the chairman of the Defense and Security Committee.

The fact that this material was presented to parliament on 4 April is beyond the sphere of my influence. I have read this material and I gave it to Mr. Lis—if not by the end of February then by the beginning of March for sure. I have another proposal here on my desk and I can present it again.

What would I like to say to conclude this matter? I would like to say that the creation of a democratic political environment requires that the entire Interior Ministry proceed in a very disciplined, responsible, and unified manner when implementing the Government of National Understanding's policy. It is necessary to strengthen the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the state while fully respecting the interests of our nations. I have always been guided by this consideration and I will stay that way if, of course, I obtain your confidence in my work and in my person.

On the subject of General Lorenz, the former deputy interior minister, I would like to say the following: Approximately four days after my nomination I summoned General Lorenz and told him that is was not possible for him to remain in the deputy minister's position. He asked me if he could be given a military post at the National Defense Ministry. This was discussed with the minister of national defense and, before the negative standpoint came, he was on a list of special consultants—without any power to make decisions or orders, of course—where he did not have access to anything and no tasks were given to him.

Otherwise, as you know, all the deputies were replaced. The chiefs of regional offices have also been replaced. I can say that this was very often done upon the requirements of civic initiatives and, in some districts, the justified requirements of the Civic Forum. I am also trying to solve the situation at the district level. I realize that I am overstepping my authority, yet I believe that this is in the interests of the matter.

I think that enough has been done during the three months. Finally, even you—in your resolution at some previous meeting at which the government's policy statement was discussed—expressed the opinion that enough had been done. At this meeting it was said that the security policy and the radical steps undertaken by the government in this direction had been appreciated.

This is about everything what I wanted to tell you. As for the other specifics voiced in Mr. Lis' interpellation, I will respond to them in writing.

Havel Advisor Defends Interior Minister

LD2504102290 Prague CTK in English 0825 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 25 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak president's advisor declared here today that Czechoslovak Interior Minister Richar Sacher is truly the right man for the right job and that he knows of no-one else who could take his place.

This is the view of Czechoslovak president's advisor Jiri Krizan in the controversy between Richard Sacher and the Czechoslovak Parliament's Defence and Security Committee, who is in charge of security and the army, which he gave in an interview for the Czech newspaper LIDOVE NOVINY.

Jiri Krizan stated that the state security had plenty of time to destroy or conceal a lot of material, to disperse and disguise itself. According to Krizan, not even such communist officials as Klement Gottwald and Milos Jakes knew how the state security worked, because it was a state within a state. He further stated that it is not possible to uncover and break-up the state security system without its members.

Krizan continued by stating that even the Czechoslovak Army is marked by forty years of totalitariansim. 80 per cent of officers were communist party members. A dense network existed of deputy commanders for political affairs. Ideology was the basis of military education. According to Krizan it is not possible, at the present time, to break-up the army and creat a new one. The government has to work with the existing army. Here he praised Defence Minister Miroslav Vacek by saying that he is an experienced general and one of the best experts who can be trusted.

Krizan added that it is being considered to raise the professionalism of the Czechoslovak Army up to 50 per cent of its numbers. He recalled that as result of the decrease in the number of troops there will be more money for national servicemen. These should decide in a referendum on how to spend the money.

Jiri Krizan considers that one of the most important tasks of the army is the change in the relationship between officers and national servicemen. He drew attention to the fact that ideology in the army had been abolished and instead of the main political administration, a cultural and educational section had been set up. 60 per cent of political instructors were assigned to do different work.

Uhl Attacks Sacher's Secret Service Concept

AU2604120790 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 24 Apr 90 p 8

[Petr Uhl article: "Secret Service of a New Totalitarian System?"]

[Text] It is general knowledge that Interior Minister Richard Sacher presses for a concept of secret service that would detect citizens' attitudes and that would not selectively focus on the parties with a potential for anti-constitutional activity but which would concern itself with all political parties. This secret service should employ staff of 4,700, while neighboring Austria is served by 400, including President Waldheim's guard. (There were 800, but under pressure by the Austrian public the number had to be decreased.) The Czechoslovak secret service is to be "extended" down to the level of districts. In order to justify the proposed staff number, its activity is being considered not only in the sphere of terrorism (thus far practically nonexistent) but in the struggle against the narcomafia and drugs as well—for which, in a law- governed state, of course, a special service of the criminal police suffices. According to some views, the Secret Service under the management of the Committee for Protection of the Constitution and Democracy should not even be supervised by the parliament, i.e., by its Defense and Security Committees; supposedly, this would follow the pattern of Western democracies. (In these democracies, however, every now and then a scandal breaks out, usually at the time the secret service gets out of parliament's control.) Even worse is the fact that an input by the public is excluded from any consideration of the new concept of secret service, and its organization is rushed. Screened (really?) State Security members are being recruited for this service. It is an obvious effort to arrange everything now, before the elections, when the highest legislative bodies, including the parliament, have only the limited mandate of the November revolution, i.e., these bodies have not been democratically elected and appointed, and the old police power structures have not been eliminated. The entire agency network to date of State Security, thousands of confidants, should be placed at the disposal of the Committee for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy, which is to "dissolve" it. Where is any guarantee that these agents will not be blackmailed and exploited by the new secret service?

Jaroslav Prochazka, an opponent of Sacher's concept of the secret service, which should spy on citizens and political parties, has even been accused of the crime of endangering a service secret and has been recalled from the post of deputy minister of interior for public criticism of this concept.

Totalitarianism is pushing its way in through the back door.

Carnogursky on Sacher Controversy

AU2504115390 Prague PRACE in Czech 21 Apr 90 p 1

[Report on interview with Deputy Premier Jan Carnogursky by unidentified PRACE reporter; place and date not given: "The Minister Is the Minister...."]

[Text] Thursday's [19 April] interpellation by Deputy Ladislav Lis in the Federal Assembly has given "full vent" to the strained relations between the Federal Assembly Defense and Security Committee and Richard Sacher, federal interior minister. In view of the grave nature of this problem, we asked Dr. Jan Carnogursky, the CSFR deputy premier who, along with Premier Marian Calfa and Valtr Komarek, was in charge of this important and "omnipotent" department for a few weeks after the appointment of the Government of National Understanding, to give us his opinion on this issue.

[PRACE] How do you view the dispute between the Federal Assembly Defense and Security Committee and Richard Sacher, federal interior minister?

[Carnogursky] I do not have a fully comprehensive opinion about this problem as I am not acquainted with it in detail. In particular, I do not know the details of, shall we call it, Minister Sacher's "course of action," or rather the "course of action" taken by his subordinate staff in connection with the screening of deputies and other citizens. However, in evaluating the problem that has arisen, I proceed from the following principles:

1. Minister Sacher is responsible for his department and for no other; no nongovernment organ can dictate to him what kind of cadre measures he is to adopt at his ministry or, as the case may be, determine the course of action and the concept of his work. The minister is a constitutional official and is responsible for running the Interior Ministry; he bears complete political responsibility for his department.... Therefore, it is impossible to allow other organs to dictate to him what he has to do. I have in mind the Federal Assembly Defense and Security Committee and the Civic Forum Coordinating Center.

2. In no way do I give priority to the people who worked in Security in the 1950's to the detriment of those who worked in it in the 1960's and the 1970's. This means I do not see the problem in the same light that the Federal Assembly Defense and Security Committee has presented it; it does not mean that Minister Sacher is conducting an inconsistent cadre policy because he has not fired Security employees from the 1970's and replaced them with officers from the 1950's and 1960's. For these reasons, I see no fault in Minister Sacher's course of action.

3. From the period when, along with Premier Marian Calfa and Deputy Premier Valtr Komarek, I had responsibility for the Interior Ministry, I know that when any kind of measures are adopted—first and foremost, however, cadre ones—it is necessary to bear in mind the condition that the security units, both republican and federal, must always be capable of action. Therefore, it is essential to make changes in the Interior Ministry's apparatus very carefully.

In conclusion, I want to emphasize again that I proceed from the three aforementioned principles, having evaluated the conflict between the Federal Assembly Defense and Security Committee and the federal interior minister. I am unable to give an opinion on the screening of deputies as I am not fully acquainted with the facts.

Civic Forum News Conference 25 Apr

LD2504213390 Prague CTK in English 1720 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 25 (CTK)—There exist no principal disputes between the Civic Forum and the Czechoslovak People's Party and both parties count with cooperation [as received] after the elections, Chairman of the Civic Forum Coordinating Committee Jan Urban told a press conference here today in connection with the situation in the Czechoslovak Ministry of the Interior.

There is another problem—the functioning of something which is of principal significance for the new political system, i.e. the Ministry of the Interior, Jan Urban pointed out. He said that it is true that the civic forum has proposed the taking of the State Security Command out of the jurisdiction of the Ministry of the Interior. He stressed that stability of the development of society will be jeopardized as long as leading functions at the Ministry of the Interior are executed by former state security officers and as long as the so-called home intelligence using a network of so-called collaborators up to the level of districts is preserved. Civic Forum considers this completely inadmissible, he underlined.

The Civic Forum further suggests to discuss and later legislatively adjust the secret service department, be its name the office for the protection of the constitution and democracy or otherwise, and subordiante it to the parliament and the president to prevent the concentration of all security components in the hands of a group which can be only hardly controlled, Jan Urban stressed, pointing out that the most important issue is the functioning of the ministry and not the party affiliation of the minister.

A number of discussions are taking place at present, the Civic Forum representative said, and described the discussions between the Civic Forum and the Czechoslovak People's Party, due this week, as the most significant as their results will certainly make it possible to

distinguish the relation between the Czechoslovak People's Party and the Civic forum as political groupings on the one hand from journalists' simplification on the other, Jan Urban stressed.

Commentary Assails Lack of 'Rule of Law,' Morals

AU2504125290 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 23 Apr 90 p 1

[Jiri Hanak commentary: "Three Questions"]

[Text] Do we know how to govern ourselves? Do we understand what a state governed in accordance with the rule of law is? Have morals and morality become enshrined among us? Events of recent days have posed these three questions for us. I am afraid that if we take a candid look at their cogency, we can only give three negative answers: We do not know how to govern ourselves; we do not understand what a state governed in accordance with the rule of law is; and morals and morality have not yet become enshrined among us.

We are a society that is incapable of discussing and naming our own state in a civilized and honorable manner. In some kind of weird hop-skip-and-jump, the federal parliament has approved the fourth version offered. By adopting this name it has provided constitutional and legal experts and philologists with a conundrum. Why is there a capital F in the word federative? And which republic is federative, the Slovak one? Or perhaps the Czech one? Or both together and each one separately? All right then, let us not argue about it. However, it should not escape our notice that the previous constitutional law on the state's name has not yet come into force and already it has been replaced with a new one. This is certainly a record worthy of the Guinness Book of Records.

We have an interior minister whose appointed consultants are being dragged off into custody—and nothing happens. We have an interior minister who has been subjected to a severe interpellation by the chairman of the parliamentary Defense and Security Committee on account of grave shortcomings in his work—and nothing happens. Is it conceivable that in a functioning democracy, the minister could politically survive something like this? In our country he can; obviously, we are beginning to be a country of limitless impossibilities. Namely, we have a Federal Government deputy premier who asserts in public and in print: It is not possible to allow other organs to dictate to the interior minister what he has to do. Not even the Federal Assembly Defense and Security Committee. Great. But to whom is the interior minister accountable? To parliament or to his own party? Do you really think we know how to govern ourselves?

Dr. Tomas Sokol, a municipal prosecutor, has decided to regard his Prague municipal district as a personal fiefdom and has officially made it known that as of 1 May he intends to assess the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia's political activity from the point of view of the party's having committed the possible criminal act of supporting and propagating fascism. This grand vizier among the prosecutors has done something that should give the heeby jeebies to every adherent of the idea of a state governed in accordance with the rule of law. Let us make no bones about it: This is a violation of the law without parallel, and we even have to go pretty far back in the Bolshevist justice system before we come up against anything similar. Had Dr. Sokol written his letter as a citizen and as a private individual, a decent person would have had no alternative but to agree with him and to support him in writing; after all, the crimes of the former totalitarian party are certainly enormous and are not subject to the statute of limitations. However, Dr. Sokol has taken the law into his own hands and has done what a guardian of the law should never do; that is, he has tarnished the law's reputation. Could he survive in his post in a functioning democracy? Do we understand what a state governed in accordance with the rule of law is?

A remarkable feature of recent events is the fact that the greatest opponents of the former totalitarian regime are the very same people who for years got on very well with this system. They have survived in the legal system and they have survived in the apparatus of the parties which collaborated with the communists. They were selected. They took part in demonstrations and—without resistance—lent their names to all sorts of totalitarian nonsense. Consider the Anti-Charter in January 1977. This was signed by numerous national artists and by numerous ordinary and meritorious artists. Some of them tossed aside their morals and morality like a piece of unnecessary baggage and surprise surprise—however, not surprisingly—their names appear attached to the resolutions contained in Dr. Sokol's letter. Let us not look too closely at what has been sincere on their part: their signatures beneath the Anti-Charter and their indignation at the Chartists or today's point of view. Another matter is more important. Like poor shepherds they are leading the nation toward the arid pastures of illegality and immorality. Unfortunately, in our country these pastures have never been abandoned. Consider recent history. When the communists murdered Dr. Horakova, they sought the nation's agreement. There were tens of thousands of resolutions. When they hung their rival comrades, there was no shortage of people to draft resolutions screeching "Crucify them!" When they dissolved the ecclesiastical orders and condemned the bishops to 25 years imprisonment in mock trials, again there was no shortage of concurring resolutions. In a state not governed in accordance with the rule of law, it is enough to merely cast the net and the long silent fish make their agreement known in a thunderous roar. Have morals and morality become enshrined among us?

Three questions and three answers. There is still time to discuss them, and there is still time to realize the fundamental truths. The Federal Assembly is accountable to the people; it cannot make its resolutions in secret. The government and each of its ministers are

accountable to parliament. Exercising the law does not belong in the hands of one individual. Morals and morality are a matter for every single one of us.

Pithart 25 Apr Czech National Council Speech

LD2504141190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0845 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] [Announcer] Now let us hear a direct relay from the session of the Czech National council which we shall bring to you now as we have been informed that it is very interesting. Lubos Lidicky reports:

[Lidicky] First, good morning from the Prague Old Town. A short while ago Czech Premier Petr Pithart delivered an important speech about the steps which the Czech Government wants to take to restructure the economic mechanism. Recently, he said, impatience has been growing in our society and anxiety about the future is increasing because the general public has still not been informed about the economic reform program. In addition, at the beginning of the year there was a visibile decrease in economic discipline and the government's planned production because the restructuring of the economic mechanism was not prepared comprehensively. So much for the description of the introductory part of the premier's speech. Here is a voice recording of the substantial part of the speech by Premier Petr Pithart:

[Begin Pithart recording] Thanks to its previous activity, in less than three weeks a specific way of improving our economy and of returning to the advanced, prosperous, and dynamic countries of Europe and the world has been worked out. The economic experts of the Czech Government agreed that society urgently needs to feel the certainty that the government knows what it wants and that it has sufficient knowledge, power, and courage to choose the necessary reform steps organized in a comprehensible linkup and effective order.

The public—we expect—will be ready to support the government, but first the public wants to comprehend it. It must be able to understand and to actively accept individual steps in their relation to the overall program of reform. On the other hand, the public must know that the rectification of accummulated mistakes will require sacrifices and that we could also make mistakes when moving into unknown terrain.

From this perspective, we must assess our situation realistically, learn from the experience of neighboring countries, and prevent a situation in which this necessary changeover to a market economy is accompanied by uncontrollable inflation processes and continuous reductions in living standards. The government can lead society through the risky paths of reform only under the condition that the citizens will cooperate with the government at each stage. Bilateral trust, tolerance, and reliable cooperation are the keys to success.

The Czech Government's initiative has led to the working out of a special draft reform at the federal level. After discussing the first draft in the Federal Government, the joint work of experts of the Federal, Czech, and Slovak governments began in the Federal Government in such a way as to prepare a document which would be based on both proposals. These two proposals also provide an opportunity to understand the reform program—until consensus is achieved—as an open document for the time being, and this will enable us to complete it in order to minimize the risks that ensue from a changeover to a market economy.

What is the basic difference between the two drafts and where do they coincide?

The two concepts hold that the governments' duty is to guide the reform in such a way as to prevent the pressure of inflation as much as possible and to ensure that the determining standpoints of social justice are fully respected. Like the general public, the majority of experts also realize that implementation of the program also contains complex and painful solutions. Both variants therefore contain measures which lead to connecting the changeover to a market economny with the idea of social justice, which would minimalize the impact on living standards—figuring in the need for market ethics in which the variations in income will not be made at the expense of the lower income groups. On the contrary, successful entrepreneurs should pull the entire living standard upwards.

The difference between the two proposals lies in two areas: in the understanding of ownership reform and in the concept of liberalization of prices. From the viewpoint of a difference in the concept of ownership reform, the opinion of a group of experts of the Czech Government is that its core lies in the speedy advancement of private entrepreneurship and the creation of conditions of entrepreneurship for all economic areas and this through the single measure of abolishing state property [jednorazove odstatneni] without stages and through gradual privatization; that is, changing enterprises that have been released from state ownership into joint-stock companies and other forms of commercial companies. The term release from state ownership basically means to separate enterprises from the state budget and from impersonal red- tape decisionmaking by the state apparatus. A necessary condition of entrepreneurial activity is to suppress anonymous ownership and anonymous responsibility, above all for possible changes. Until now the losses in state enterprises have been paid for by everybody—and by nobody.

The aim of the subsequent privatization process is to involve other motivational drives aroused by private ownership. Our proposal envisions at the same time that the process of privatization will continue only as fast as the necessary domestic capital is being created and that it will be dependant on the interest in privatization by Czechoslovak enterprises and on how, to the necessary

extent, it is possible to interest foreign capital in the development of some spheres of our economy.

This entire process in the draft by Czech Government experts should be managed by the national assets fund [fond narodniho jmeni], which would answer for its activity to the National Councils of the republics.

On the other hand, the Federal Government's alternative reckons that, instead of the process of denationalization, some of the existing state enterprises should be transformed—by the so-called transformation bill—into state joint-stock companies, and that by means of the so-called property coupons [majetkovy kupon]—or investment money—shares should be distributed to all adults free of charge. With the property coupons, citizens could purchase or rent communal property, purchase shares offered by the state in specific joint-stock companies, or possibly purchase shares in some privatized investment funds. It is envisioned that by this means the process of privatization would be speeded up and the capital market would be created quickly at the same time.

This entire process should be managed by the Office for Temporary Administration and Privatization of National Property attached to the Ministry of Finance.

It is not my task to evaluate these two alternatives here. Czech Government economic experts, however, consider the alternative of the distribution of property coupons to be much more risky, both from the standpoint of creating inflationary pressure and from the point of view of the devaluation of securities—shortly afterwards the property coupons would be turned into shares in state enterprises. The coupons, in addition to being an unjustified increase of the population's investment purchasing power, could also lead to undesirable property transactions.

The differences in the concept of liberalization of prices are concentrated first of all in the question of speed—the speed of implementation of the price liberalization—as well as in the sphere of trends, which are unavoidably connected with the price liberalization. A majority in the Czech Government believes that the price liberalization cannot be rushed and that it cannot at all be linked with the present liberalization of imports. This would result in a further devaluation of the Czechoslovak koruna, as envisioned in the proposals drafted at the Federal Government level.

Therefore, the Czech proposal for reform contains a program for price liberalization which will gradually, not in one go, enable full liberalization of prices first of all on the domestic market, and this will depend on the liquidation of monoply production and the creation of a competitive environment, and only after a certain time to strive for the convertibility of the Czechoslovak currency at the level of the approximate parity of purchasing power and not all at a level corresponding to today's rate of exchange on the black market.

The basic principle of the two proposals is a choice of an approach which would help to stop the collapse and disorganization of the economy and open the way for any one of the alternatives, about which only the government can decide. The proposal concentrates on measures which would reduce the risk of inflation and turn society's interests away from consumption and toward investment, and even in this phase to inspire the population to desirable economic behavior. These elements are beneficial for any one of the final alternatives. The concept of the strategy of economic reform is being worked on intensively. The final draft is to be completed by the end of this week and then the Czech National Council will be acquainted with it. [end recording]

[Lidicky] So much for the address by Czech Premier Petr Pithart to the Czech National Council. Certainly an interesting speech and for many an inspiring one. We are reporting regularly in our bulletins about the Czech National Council today. I am now handing you back to the Radio Czechoslovakia studio.

Czech Crime Rate Up More Than 50 Percent

AU2404200390

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO and Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 20 April publish correspondents' reports on a news conference given by officials of the Czech Republic Ministry of Interior in Prague on 19 April. The subject of the news conference was the "alarming increase in the crime rate" in the first quarter of 1990, compared with the first quarter of last year.

In his 500-word report in RUDE PRAVO, which is published on pages 1 and 3 under the headline "Security in Danger," Dalibor Macha says that, according to the ministry's officials, "general crime" increased 54.4 percent in the Czech Republic in the first quarter of the year. While "violent" crime increased 25 percent, property- related criminal activity increased as much as 90 percent. The number of burglaries alone is said to have increased 164 percent.

The RUDE PRAVO report attributes the increase to the "declining legal awareness of citizens," to a "shift in the hierarchy of values" and its reflection in declining discipline, to the low degree of authority commanded by security bodies and their resulting "low capability to act," as well as to manpower shortages and to the outdated equipment of the criminal police.

Macha's report is followed by a 100-word "edk"-signed Kosice dispatch dealing with a news conference on the same subject held in Kosice on 19 April. According to this report, a total of 5,570 criminal and minor offenses were registered in the region of East Slovakia in the first three months of 1990, 885 more than a year ago. Only 66.2 percent of them have been cleared up.

Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 20 April on page 7 carries a 250- word "tav"-signed report on the Prague

news conference. According to the MLADA FRONTA report, the subjects discussed included also the "growing violence between Vietnamese citizens and members of the Punk movement. Wednesday [18 April] night, Vietnamese citizens staged a meeting in front of their dormitory in Prague-8. A petition directed against the Punk movement was read out there. In the end everything turned out well and even the proposal that the Vietnamese citizens stay away from work was turned down."

Construction of Gabcikovo Dam Suspended

AU2504072490 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Apr 90 p 1

[CTK report: "Gabcikovo Suspended for Two Years"]

[Text] Bratislava— Construction of the Gabcikovo hydropower project has been suspended for two years. Only work on provisions for flood protection and on the assembly of the lock chambers' technological installations will be carried out during this period. This was announced by Ivan Vesely, minister of forestry, water economy, and the wood-processing industry of the Slovak Republic, at a news conference on Friday [20 April]. This decision was reached by leading representatives of the ministry and independent commissions composed of experts, ecologists, and nature conservationists.

Anti-Fascist Fighters Group Changes Name

LD2504230390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Summary] The Czech Union of Anti-Fascist Fighters held an extraordinary congress in Prague today [25 April]. The delegates approved by a majority vote a new name for the organization, which is the Czech Union of Freedom Fighters [Cesky svaz bojovniku za svobodu], and a new name for their journal, which is THE VOICE OF FREEDOM [hlas svobody].

De Maiziere, Parties React to Lafontaine Attack

LD2604104590 East Berlin Deutschlandsender Network in German 0900 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Excerpt] In a telegram to the FRG Saarland Minister-President Lafontaine, Prime Minister de Maiziere has expressed his great consternation at the assassination attempt. The note reads: On behalf of my government and myself, I wish you a speedy recovery.

Great consternation was also expressed by the Social Democratic Party [SPD], the citizens' movement Democracy Now, the Party of Democratic Socialism, the Democratic Awakening, the League of Free Democrats, and the Green Party of the GDR. The Bundestag in Bonn condemned the assassination attempt as a disgraceful assassination attempt. [passage omitted on Lafontaine's condition]

Status of United Germany in NATO Viewed

AU2504120090 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 23 Apr 90 p 1

[Klaus Wilczynski editorial: "The Status Is Still Open"]

[Text] It is still open what status a united Germany will have, whether it will belong to NATO or be incorporated in another security system, or whether it will be neutral. There are pros and cons for every solution. The issue has become a bone of contention among those concerned.

Thus, the most sensible thing to do would be to seek a common solution that can be accepted by everyone and that takes into consideration all security interests in an optimum way. The suitable forum for discussing such a compromise is the Two-Plus-Four talks which are due to start shortly. They include all parties concerned, the two German states and the four victorious powers who have special rights concerning Germany as a whole.

Taking this into consideration, it is all the more surprising that President Bush and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher agreed on a strategy during their meeting in Bermuda, aimed at adopting a "tougher stance" toward the Soviet Union, which continues to be opposed to membership in NATO of a united Germany. They ordered their representatives at the Two-Plus-Four talks to reject any discussion of the NATO issue. In their view, membership of a united Germany in the Atlantic Alliance is an accomplished fact.

Since this is not the case, such an attitude can only be viewed as blackmail in Moscow. It will be seen as an attempt to push Moscow out of the four-power responsibility that resulted from the victory of the allies over Hitler's Germany. Trying to ignore the USSR that contributed to this victory with 26 million dead in such a way is not only irresponsible but also stupid. There is hardly a thing that is more suited to further undermine the position of Gorbachev, who is faced with countless problems at home.

However, not only the Germans but also the United States and Great Britain are highly interested in strengthening the reformer in the Kremlin –as their leaders have repeatedly stressed. Of course, the Soviet Union, too, will have to reconsider its position in the interest of a joint solution. However, the other powers must talk with the USSR for this very reason.

GDR, FRG Health Ministers Meet in Berlin

LD2504110390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1047 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Health Minister Professor Dr. Juergen Kleditzsch and Professor Dr. Ursula Lehr, the Federal minister for youth, family, women and health, held their first meeting in Berlin today. The focus of the talks is the humanitarian aid measures undertaken so far by the Federal Republic, and the realization of further projects for the second half of the year. The Federal Republic is making DM 500 million available for this for 1990 in the special budget. Another subject for discussion is the alignment of the two health systems. The Federal minister will then hold further talks with the GDR ministers for youth, sport, women, and family.

Ministers on 'Harmonization' of GDR, FRG Laws

LD2504213490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1515 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In Berlin today, GDR Justice Minister Professor Dr. Kurt Wuensche and Dr. Berghofer-Weicher, the Bavarian state minister for justice and chairwoman of the Conference of Justice Ministers and Senators, discussed the harmonization of laws between the GDR and FRG and their future cooperation.

Two-Plus-Four Preparations To Continue 30 Apr

LD2504223390 Hamburg DPA in German 1756 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—The preparations for the first foreign ministers meeting within the framework of the "Two-Plus-Four talks" on the external aspects of German unification will be continued in a further round of German-German talks between government officials in East Berlin on Monday. This became known today. The meeting is to prepare a joint German proposal for the agenda of the ministers conference, at which GDR Foreign Minister Markus Meckel (Social Democratic Party) and his counterpart from Bonn, Hans-Dietrich Genscher (Free Democratic Party) will meet the foreign ministers of the United States, the USSR, Great Britain and France in Bonn on 5 May.

At the talks in Niederschoenhausen Castle the GDR delegation will be headed by the parliamentary state secretary in the Foreign Ministry, Hans Misselwitz, the delegation of the Federal Republic will be led by Dieter Kastrup, head of the Foreign Ministry political department.

Acting President's Activity in Nicaragua Reported

LD2504085890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0424 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Excerpts] Managua (ADN)—GDR People's Chamber President Dr. Sabine Bergamnn-Pohl, who, as acting head of state, is attending the inauguration of the Nicaraguan president, Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, arrived in Managua yesterday evening. During the flight, Dr. Sabine Bergmann-Pohl told ADN that she is looking forward to the meeting with her counterpart. She will wish the first freely elected president of Nicaragua courage and strength in finding the solution to the difficult political and economic problems. [passage omitted] Yesterday evening the GDR head of state was the guest of the outgoing president, Daniel Ortega, who gave a farewell reception for the foreign visitors.

GDR on Higher Savings Account Exchange Limit

AU2604114890 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 26 Apr 90 p 1

["Hz."-signed report: "GDR Wants Higher Exchange Limits for Savings Accounts and More Social Security for Its Citizens"]

[Text] Berlin/GDR—In the negotiations on the state treaty on economic, monetary, and social union, the GDR Government is striving to have an amount exchangable by GDR citizens that is higher than the 4,000 marks [M] per person proposed by the FRG Government. This was announced by Government spokesman Matthias Gehler after a Cabinet session of the GDR Government on Wednesday [25 April]. In addition, the Cabinet thinks that "protective" economic, monetary, and social measures are absolutely necessary. Gehler affirmed that, in the opinion of the East Berlin government, the FRG Government's draft of a state treaty which has been presented so far only consists of proposals to which his government will present counterproposals. The experts' talks on the state treaty also started in East Berlin on Wednesday.

Gehler indicated that the GDR Government envisages an amount of at least M5,000 per GDR citizen will be exchanged against the Deutsche mark at a 1:1 rate when the monetary union comes into force on 2 July 1990. Approximately 70 percent of the savings accounts existing in the GDR amount to up to M5,000, Gehler stated. Recently GDR Finance Minister Gerhard Pohl even mentioned an exchange figure of M10,000. Now a spokesman of the East Berlin Finance Ministry has made it clear that private monetary holdings will be added to the savings accounts during the conversion of the currency. Thus, every GDR citizen would be entitled to a one-time amount of altogether M4,000 to be exchanged at a 1:1 rate, irrespective of whether it consists of cash or savings deposits. Finally Gehler also said that, as for the rest, the GDR Government sticks to its government statement, according to which wages and pensions will first be increased by a cost of living allowance and the higher amount will be paid out later. The Federal Government did not include such inflationary compensation in its proposals.

According to Gehler, relations with CEMA, pensions, and the infrastructure, for example, are part of the "protective measures" demanded by the Cabinet. An economic union also requires "inner-German regulations as regards the flow of goods." Special regulations for rents, energy, and public tariffs are also advocated. Moreover, it has to be clarified what is to be done with the money or accounts of foreigners working in the GDR.

Head of government De Maiziere also participated temporarily in the experts' discussions, which are to be continued this week. The delegations are headed by Bundesbank director Hans Tietmayer, Chancellor Kohl's personal adviser, and Guenter Krause, parliamentary state secretary of the GDR premier.

Interior Minister Diestel on CID-Stasi Ties

LD2604123790 Hamburg DPA in German 0931 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—Special branches of the GDR's Criminal Investigation Deparment [CID] worked under cover for the State Security Service. Under the name K1 the special units continued to work in all districts (kreise) of the GDR, collecting information and passing it on to Stasi departments, also after the dissolution of the intelligence service. This was confirmed by Interior Minister Peter-Michael Diestel (German Social Union) [DSU] in front of the deputies of the People's Chamber in East Berlin today. Before that, Diestel had levelled strong accusations against the government of Hans Modrow, in connection with the beginning of the dissolution of the ministry at the end of last year. Diestel said files had been destroyed, which had created big holes in the information network. This meant the "blurring of facts." The main task of his ministry was to clear up the links between police authorities and the former Stasi and to fully disband the GDR secret service.

Diestel denied press allegations that he "will use the structures to build up a new intelligence service." Some 10,000 meters of files on six million GDR citizens and two million West Germans will not be destroyed, because the GDR will have to refer back to "this criminal body of thought." Diestel referred to "legitimate calls for rehabilitation" from almost every family in the GDR. At the same time the DSU politician spoke expressly against handing over files to West German authorities. The problem of the past must be dealt with by the GDR alone.

Eppelmann Announces 49% Military Budget Cut

LD2604110190 East Berlin Deutschlandsender Network in German 1000 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Foreign Minister Meckel has made the membership of a united Germany in NATO dependent on changes in the structure and strategy of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The interests of the Eastern neighbors should not be neglected either, he stated in today's People's Chamber debate. Meckel spoke in favor of doing everything for the creation of an all-European security system and expressed hope that the cornerstone for this system will be established at the CSCE summit in the fall.

Disarmament and Defense Minister Eppelmann gave noncommittal answers to questions about NATO membership. He does not want to anticipate the negotiations. Eppelmann rejected the abolition of compulsory military service with the argument that the Army, as long as it must exist, should not be a special class in society. He announced a 49-percent reduction in the military budget compared with the previous year. He criticized the Federal Republic's arms budget which is at its highest level historically.

Draft of GDR Constitution Published

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Preamble

On the basis of the humanistic traditions to which the best men and women from all strata of our society have contributed; bearing in mind the responsibility of all Germans for their history and its consequences; willing to live as peaceful and equal partners among the community of peoples; involved in the process of European unification during which the German people will achieve state unity; convinced that the possibility for self-determined and responsible action is the highest freedom; on the basis of revolutionary renewal; and determined to develop a democratic community characterized by solidarity that ensures the dignity and freedom of every individual, which guarantees equal treatment of the sexes, and which protects our natural environment, the citizens of the GDR adopt this Constitution.

Chapter I

Human and Civil Rights

Section 1

Dignity, Equality, Freedom, Solidarity

Article 1

(1) The dignity of man is inviolable. To respect and protect it is the highest duty of the state.

(2) Everyone must respect his fellow citizens as equals. No one may be discriminated against because of his race, background, nationality, language, sex, his sexual orientation, his social position, his age, a handicap, his religious, philosophical, or political conviction.

Article 2

(1) All men are equal before the public authority. Any kind of arbitrariness and any unjustified unequal treatment is forbidden.

Article 3

(1) Women and men enjoy equal rights.

(2) The state is obliged to work for the equal treatment of women in the workplace and in public life, in basic and advanced training, in the family, and in the sphere of social security.

Article 4

(1) Everyone has a right to life, to freedom from injury, and to the respect of his dignity at death. Only laws may interfere with the right to freedom from injury.

(2) No one may be subjected to cruel, inhuman, or humiliating treatment or punishment without his voluntary and explicit consent for the purpose of medical and scientific experiments.

(3) Women are entitled to determine whether to continue a pregnancy. The state protects unborn life by offering social support.

Article 5

General freedom of action is guaranteed provided that it does not interfere with laws.

Article 6

(1) The right to the freedom of movement and the right to enter and leave the country are guaranteed to every citizen, every foreigner, and every stateless person with permanent residence.

(2) These rights may be restricted by laws in the event of fights against epidemics and catastrophes. In order to prevent special burdens on the public in ensuring a sufficient basis of existence [Lebensgrundlage], the right to the freedom of movement and the right to enter and leave the country may be restricted by laws to ensure the enforcement of court rulings or the enforcement of legal obligations.

Article 7

(1) No citizen may be stripped of his citizenship, and he must not be expelled or extradited.
(2) Foreigners may not be extradited or expelled to countries where they are facing an infringement of their human dignity or a death sentence.
(3) Persons suffering political persecution enjoy the right of asylum.

Article 8

(1) Everyone is entitled to respect for and the protection of his person and privacy.
(2) Everyone is entitled to his personal data and to access to files and data banks that concern him personally. Personal data must not be collected, stored, used, processed, or passed on without the voluntary and explicit consent of the person concerned. These rights may only be restricted by laws, and the person concerned must be notified of this.

Article 9

(1) Homes are inviolable.
(2) Searches are only permissible on a legal basis. They may only be ordered by judges. In the event of an acute and serious danger and in case somebody is caught red-handed, the law may provide for searches to be ordered and executed by other officials; they are subject to confirmation by a judge.
(3) Entry of a home without the consent of the occupant is only admissible on a legal basis in the case of general danger or danger to life and limb of individual persons.
(4) The power to enter and inspect rooms that are used exclusively for operational and business purposes in order to perform official acts without the consent of the occupant is only permissible on a legal basis.

Article 10

(1) The secrecy of mail and telecommunications is inviolable.
(2) Encroachment is only possible on a legal basis and on the order of a judge, and only for the purpose of combating serious organized criminality.

Article 11

(1) The freedom of conscience is guaranteed.
(2) If the conscience conflicts with civic or civil duties, the citizen must offer other services if he does not want to fulfill these duties, and the state must offer other duties that represent the same burden.

Article 12

(1) Everyone has a right to the freedom and security of his person. Restrictions of freedom are only admissible on the basis of laws, and if they are unavoidable.
(2) Every person whose freedom is restricted must immediately be informed about the reasons for the restriction of freedom. Persons who are deprived of their freedom must be brought before a judge immediately, at least within 24 hours. The judge decides in a written statement on the deprivation of liberty and gives reasons for this or orders the release of the person concerned. The person concerned may call for a judicial examination of the continuation of the deprivation of liberty at adequate intervals. In the event of a deprivation of liberty and prior to every judicial decision on the continuation of the deprivation of liberty, a person who enjoys the confidence of the person concerned is to be notified, and in the case of minors a parent or guardian must be notified as well. The person concerned must be given a chance to contact a person of his choice authorized to practice law.
(3) Detained persons may not be maltreated, either physically nor emotionally, and may not be subjected to harassment.
(4) Imprisonment and the execution of sentences should mainly serve the purpose of reintegration. Prisoners may be ordered to carry out work.
(5) The death penalty and life sentences have been abolished.
(6) Every person whose freedom has been restricted in an unjustified manner is entitled to damages.

Article 13

(1) Everyone is entitled to be brought before a judge. Everyone is entitled to a fair, swift, and public trial. The public may only be excluded in accordance with the law and by virtue of a court order.
(2) Criminal responsibility is determined by the law. Criminal laws never take effect retrospectively. Every person is to be considered innocent until he is finally convicted.
(3) No one may be legally punished for the same offense twice. Every convicted person is entitled to the examination of his verdict by a higher court.
(4) In criminal prosecution, everyone has a legal claim to the following guarantees on which he must be informed in an appropriate manner:

1) He must immediately be informed of the accusations leveled against him in a language that he understands.
2) He must be given the opportunity to attend the trial and defend himself or be defended by a defense counsel of his choice. He must be assigned a defense counsel if this is necessary; if the person lacks the financial means, he must not be charged anything. Appropriate preparation by the defense counsel must be ensured.
3) He can call for the appearance of experts and the presentation of evidence and question witnesses and experts under the same conditions as the prosecutor.

Article 14

(1) No one may be obligated to report crimes that have been committed or that may be committed. The law can provide for exceptions in the event of imminent serious crimes.
(2) No one may be forced to testify against himself or against persons close to him on the basis of the law.

(3) The privilege of a witness to decline to answer questions must be provided by the law for members of the medical profession, the legal profession, the social sphere, and for priests. The confidentiality of information ensured this way may not be infringed upon in any way.

Article 15

(1) Every person has the right to freely express and disseminate information and his opinion in any form, and to obtain information from generally accessible sources and other sources that can be made accessible on a legal basis. The validity of these rights in employment contracts may only be restricted by act of law or under a law.
(2) The freedom of the press, of radio, and other mass media is ensured. The law has to guarantee through procedural rules that the diversity of opinion that exists within society can be expressed in the press, radio, and television.
(3) These rights are limited by laws that must not restrict the freedom of opinion because of intellectual content and intellectual impact. Legal restriction to protect young people and people's honor are admissible. War propaganda and the public expression of discrimination that violates human rights are to be banned by laws.
(4) The existing radio and television stations are to be established as public institutions. Their task is to contribute to the formation of public opinion through a variety of programs. The internal order will be regulated by laws. The admission of private radio and television stations is only possible by act of law and only if the fulfillment of the task of the public institutions is not thereby affected.
(5) Lawful journalistic activities must not be impeded by the duty to give evidence, by confiscation, and searches.
(6) Censorship is banned.

Article 16

(1) Every person is entitled to organize peaceful gatherings, without prior notification or permit.
(2) This right to gather or hold demonstrations in the open air may only be restricted because of special public security requirements and by act of law.

Article 17

Every person has the right to form associations, to join them, and to be active in accordance with the association's goals.

Article 18

(1) Every person has the right to profess a religion or ideology and to express this alone or together with others, privately or in public. The need for religious services and pastoral care is to be satisfied by public institutions. There must be no pressure concerning the selection of a religion or ideology and the freedom of worship.
(2) Parents or guardians are free to ensure the religious and ideological education of their children in accordance with their conviction.

Article 19

(1) Science is free. The state guarantees the exercise of the freedom of research and teaching.
(2) The admissibility of means and methods applied in research may be restricted by an act of law. Duty to supply information may exist in research areas where particularly high risks are involved.
(3) The state-supported universities cultivate the sciences in research, teaching, and training. They are public corporations, and have the right to self-administration in all academic matters within the legal framework.
(4) Intellectual work, copyright, and the rights of inventors are protected by the state.

Article 20

(1) Art is free.
(2) Cultural life as well as the preservation and the tradition of the cultural heritage are promoted: Corresponding means have to be provided by the state budgets and the budgets of the laender and local bodies.

Article 21

(1) All citizens have the same right to political participation. The Constitution and the laws stipulate how the law is exercised directly or through freely elected representatives.
(2) Every citizen who has completed 18 years of age has the right to participate in general, equal, free, secret, and direct elections to the Peoples' Chamber, to the diets, and local representative bodies, and the right to be elected to these bodies. Foreigners and stateless persons with permanent residence are entitled to vote in local elections.
(3) Every person has the same access to public offices. The persons mentioned in paragraph 2 item 2 have the same right at the local level. The legal position of the members of public service who exercise jurisdiction (civil servants) is to be regulated by laws in accordance with the requirements of a citizen-friendly administration.
(4) Every person whose rights and concerns are affected by plans of public projects, particularly concerning traffic routes and installations, energy-generating plants, production facilities, and large buildings, is entitled to participate in permit procedures. Associations of persons affected have the same right.
(5) Every person has the right to address proposals, criticism, and complaints to any state authority, individually or together with others. He has the right to be heard and is entitled to an answer containing an explanation within a due period.

Article 22

(1) The family is to be protected and promoted by the state.

(2) Other conjugal communities that are intended to last are entitled to protection against discrimination.
(3) Parents have the right and the obligation to educate their children. Those who educate children are entitled to appropriate support by the state and to consideration by society. The state promotes the possibility of the employment and of the vocational training of persons who educate children, particularly with special regulations concerning working hours.
(4) Children are to be granted a legal position that takes into consideration their increasing ability to understand things by acknowledging their increasing independence.
(5) Children enjoy state protection against physical and emotional neglect and maltreatment. Child labor is prohibited.

Article 23

(1) The community respects old age. It respects handicapped persons.
(2) Every person has the right to social protection against the consequences of diseases and accidents, in the case of invalidity, mental or physical handicaps, if he is in need of care, in old age, and in the event of unemployment.
(3) This right is ensured by insurance systems that are subject to public law. Every person is entitled and obliged to participate in this system. The insurance systems usually include unemployment benefits and old age pensions for everybody.
(4) In special cases of hardship, the person affected is entitled to social welfare.
(5) Social protection and social welfare should make it possible for the persons concerned to lead a responsible life on the basis of equal rights. In homes, inmates have the right of joint responsibility and codetermination.

Article 24

(1) Every citizen has the right to equal and free access to public educational and training institutions. This right can only be encroached upon by act of law or under an existing law.
(2) Compulsory education in schools lasts 10 years. The schools have to promote the children's abilities and talents. The school system must ensure openness and access to the different courses of education.
(3) The state promotes the establishment and maintenance of creches and kindergartens, as well as of day nurseries.
(4) Compulsory education may be received outside state schools, in schools that guarantee a minimum standard stipulated in the law. The establishment of private schools must not lead to the separation of children according to the income of their parents. Private schools are entitled to public funds unless the priority position of the public school system is endangered.
(5) Children and students are entitled to state subsidies for their education in accordance with the law.

Article 25

(1) Every citizen is entitled to appropriate living space. Eviction must be banned by law. When weighing the interests of the occupant against those of the owner of the apartment, the extraordinary significance of the apartment for leading a decent life is to be attributed particular importance. Eviction is only possible if the person is offered a substitute.
(2) Publicly assisted housing and the maintenance of apartments are to be promoted by the state. In particular, the state is obliged to promote the construction of housing suitable for old and handicapped people.

Section 2

Work, Economy, Environment

Article 26

Every person has the right to freely select and practice an occupation. This freedom can only be encroached upon by an act of law or under an existing law.

Article 27

(1) Every citizen has the right to work or to the promotion of employment.
(2) The right of every citizen to dispose freely of his labor and to freely select his workplace is guaranteed. Work and services in the public sector are only admissible in special cases that are defined by law. These services must be equal for all. Women are only obliged to perform public services in emergency cases. Compulsory military service has been abolished.
(3) The state protects employees through legal regulations on industrial safety, hygienic conditions at the workplace, and the limitation of working hours. The state promotes the right of every individual to use his labor to lead a decent life. In economic policy, priority is usually to be given to the goal of full employment. In the event of unemployment or the danger of unemployment, every citizen has the right to state-assisted measures and the promotion of employment. In this connection, priority is to be given to advanced vocational training or retraining over unemployment benefits and unemployment relief.
(4) Persons performing the same work are entitled to equal payment.
(5) Apprentices, pregnant women, single parents, sick people, handicapped working people, and older working people enjoy extended protection against dismissal.

Article 28

Every working person employed in a company or enterprise is entitled to codetermine the economic and social matters, and matters concerning the personnel of the company or the enterprise through representative organs if the company or the enterprise is of special significance for the community because of the number of employees, its position in the market, and other features. Details are regulated by law.

Article 29

(1) Property and the right of inheritance are guaranteed. The form, the contents, and the scope are determined by law. The ownership of property is linked with certain social obligations.
(2) Privately used property and cooperative property, as well as pension claims and qualifications for pensions earned by the person through his work enjoy special protection under the Constitution. The acquisition of personal property in the form of apartments and residential property, and the formation of cooperative property are promoted.
(3) The sovereign transfer of property or of individual property rights to third persons in the interest of public welfare (expropriation) is admissible. The expropriation of privately used property is only admissible in urgent cases of public welfare. Expropriation of property is only possible by act of law or under a law that regulates the form and the scope of the indemnity. If existing ownership rights are changed by act of law or under an existing law and if this results in a serious disadvantage for the owner (special sacrifice), compensation has to be provided. The scope of indemnity and compensation is to be determined by weighing the interests of the public and those concerned justly against each other. Full compensation for the loss of value is only to be provided if privately used property is concerned. Privately used property and cooperative property are equally important.

Article 30

The formation of cartels and the establishment of enterprises with a dominant position on the market is inadmissible. Exceptions are only possible on a legal basis in the interest of the safeguarding of endangered work places, the promotion of structurally weak regions, and the preservation of international competitiveness.

Article 31

(1) Land and business enterprises may be converted into independent enterprises of the social economy for the purpose of nationalization by a law that regulates the type and scope of the damages. Damages are determined under Article 29, chapter 3, item 5.
(2) The state and the bodies vested with local autonomy are entitled to participate in economic life to fulfill their tasks.
(3) To ensure the reliable and comprehensive supply of the population with goods and services, as well as for important reasons concerning the state order, public monopolies may be established by act of law or under an existing law.

Article 32

(1) In the use of land and waters, the interests of the community and of future generations must be duly taken into consideration. The utilization of land is only admissible within the framework of a land development plan. Ownership and the utilization of agricultural land and forests that exceed 100 hectars are reserved for cooperative and public institutions and churches. The sale of land and granting usufruct to foreigners is subject to approval.
(2) If the value of land increases as a result of its conversion into construction land, the bodies vested with local autonomy are entitled to compensation for the increase in value. This compensation is usually furnished by ceding part of the converted land without charging indemnification. This part corresponds to the extent of the increase in value, but it must not be more than 50 percent of the land.
(3) The winning of mineral resources is subject to approval by the state. In this connection, particular importance is to be attributed to the careful use of the land in the interest of the public.

Article 33

(1) The protection of the natural environment as the basis of existence of this and future generations is the duty of the state and of all citizens. With its environmental policy, the state has to prevent harmful influences on the environment and to ensure the economical and multiple use of nonrenewable raw materials and the economical use of energy.
(2) Serious impairment or a threat to the natural environment may only be permitted to an extent that is unavoidable to safeguard extraordinarily significant interests of the community.
(3) The health of persons may not be harmed or unnecessarily endangered through negative changes in the natural basis of existence. Every person may demand the publication of the data concerning the environmental situation in the area where he lives if he claims that harmful changes of the natural environment pose a threat to his right to life and to his right to freedom from injury. Several persons may jointly file a complaint.

(4) Those who cause environmental damage are liable and responsible for compensatory measures.
(5) The state and the bodies vested with local autonomy are obliged to provide access for the public to mountains, forests, fields, lakes, and rivers, and to ensure this by restricting the property right, if necessary.

Section 3

Rights of the Sorbs

Article 34

(1) The state respects and promotes the interests of the Sorbs. It guarantees and protects their right to use and cultivate their language, culture, and traditions. It maintains and supports the institutions required to ensure this, particularly in the social sphere and in education. The Sorbs have the right to use their mother tongue before the administration authorities and before court. The vital needs of the Sorbs are to be taken into particular consideration in the planning of the laender and in regional planning.
(2) Rights of autonomy may be granted through laws.

Section 4

Social Groups and Associations

Article 35

(1) Associations that are committed to public tasks and influence the formation of public opinion in this way (citizens' movements) are entitled to special protection by the state because they ensure free social development, express criticism, and exert control.
(2) Citizens' movements whose activities extend over a land or the entire country are entitled to bring their concerns to the attention of the competent committees of the People's Chamber of the diets. Their concerns must be dealt with in an objective manner. They are entitled to obtain information regarding their concerns from public administrative bodies, after due consideration of opposed public interests, unless the person and privacy of third persons is infringed.

Article 36

(1) The freedom of associations is guaranteed. The associations are entitled to determine their internal order freely and in an independent manner.
(2) The internal order of associations must conform to democratic principles if they represent primarily the interests of their members in public or if they participate in fulfilling state tasks or public tasks that are mainly financed by the state. The same applies to associations that are not subject to special competition in their sphere of activity. Within the goals of the association, its members are entitled to the unimpeded exercise of the freedom of opinion, of association, and the freedom to form groups. Equal participation in the formation of will within the association is ensured.
(3) Associations as defined in paragraph 2, item 2, must not bar anyone from membership for unjustified reasons.
(4) Associations whose goals or activities violate criminal laws may be subjected to restrictions or banned by law.

Article 37

(1) The freedom of parties to participate on an equal basis in the formation of the political will in society is guaranteed.
(2) The internal order of the parties must conform to democratic principles. The members of the party are entitled to the unimpeded exercise of the right of freedom of opinion and association within the framework of the party program, and they are also entitled to participate on an equal basis in the formation of will within the party.
(3) Parties have to give public account of the party's financing. The reimbursement of election campaign costs is subject to a separate decision by the citizens entitled to vote (citizens' bonus). These regulations also apply to citizens' movements that participate in elections to the People's Chamber and diets.
(4) The rights of parties which infringe human dignity constantly and systematically, or which, through their activity, violate the principles of an open and nonviolent process of the formation of political will, may be excluded from elections or banned if this is the only means of averting danger in the process of the formation of political will. Decisions are reserved for the Constitutional Court; the effects of these decisions are to be limited to a certain period of time. Prior to a decision by the Constitutional Court, discrimination against the party or its members is not admissible. The civil and civic rights of members are in no way affected by the decisions of the Constitutional Court.

Article 38

(1) The freedom of the churches and religious communities is ensured. The churches and religious communities regulate their own affairs in an independent manner within the framework of the existing laws. Equality in the protection of persons employed by the church and of the guarantees provided by the labor and social law must be ensured.

(2) Churches and religious communities are given the legal position of a public body upon request.
(3) The state promotes and supports churches and religious communities in line with agreements, in particular in their social activities and in preserving their cultural heritage. On the basis of agreements, the state may take over the levying of membership fees for churches and religious communities in return for payment of administrative expenses.

Article 39

(1) Everyone has the right to form trade unions, to join them, and to work in them in line with trade union purposes. Agreements, which intend to restrict or impede this right are null and void, measures aimed at this are illegal and are to be sanctioned by law. The establishment of public professional organizations with compulsory membership is inadmissible.
(2) The freedom and independence of the trade unions is ensured, they have the right to have access to enterprises. Detail of trade union work in enterprises are regulated by law.
(3) The trade unions must not have opponents as regards the laws concerning collective bargaining. Their internal order must correspond to democratic principles. The members' right to unhindered exercise of their freedom of opinion and assembly, to freedom of forming groups, as well as to equal participation in inner-trade union formation of will is to be ensured.
(4) Trade unions have the right to conclude collective agreements on all matters concerning the working people's working and living conditions. Parties to collective agreements are trade unions and their umbrella organizations, enterprises of all forms of ownership and associations of enterprises, the federal government, the laender, and the bodies vested with local autonomy.

(5) The trade unions' right to strike is ensured. In case of labor conflicts payment of damages is excluded, but not the threat and levying of compulsory fees to enforce judicial decisions. Wage compensation for production losses, that are indirectly caused by labor conflicts is a common burden of social autonomy and is repaid to the enterprises in line with legal regulations.
(6) Lockouts in order to end employment are prohibited. In enterprises that are not involved in strikes any kind of lockout is prohibited.

Section 5

Validity

Article 40

(1) The human and civil rights of this constitution are directly binding to legislation, executive power, judiciary, and, as far as this is envisaged by the constitution, also to third parties.
(2) As far as human and civil rights may be restricted by law or on the basis of a law, the principle of reasonableness must be ensured. Such restrictions must not in any case infringe upon the basic nature of a human or civil right.
(3) The human and civil rights also apply to domestic juridical persons of private and public law, as far as their nature permits them to be applied to those.
(4) If someone's human and civil rights are violated, he may sue for their fulfillment by legal procedure.

Chapter II

Principles and Organs of the State

Section 1

Principles

Article 41

(1) The GDR is a democratic and social federation based on law-governed principles and consists of the laender.... It is committed to the goal of establishing an all-European peace system, which overcomes the situation established by World War II in Germany on the basis of reconciliation with all peoples, who were oppressed and persecuted by the Germans. Within this framework, the German people will determine the form of their German state themselves.
(2) The GDR is committed to the goal of establishing the unity of the two German states.

Article 42

(1) The people are the bearers of state power.
(2) Legislation is bound by the norms of the constitution; the executive power and the judiciary are bound by the constitution as well as by law and order.
(3) The general rules of international law are directly valid in federal law.

Article 43

The GDR state flag bears the colors black-red-gold. The coat-of-arms of the state is the depiction of the motto "swords to plough-shares."

Article 44

(1) Sovereign rights can be transferred to intergovernmental institutions, especially joint institutions of the two German states, by a law to which the Laender Chamber has to agree. Article 132, paragraphs 1 and 2 remain unaffected.
(2) The restriction of sovereign rights in favor of a system of collective security within the framework of a pan-European state of peace is admissible.

Article 45

(1) The GDR promotes all efforts and measures aiming at balanced disarmament.
(2) The preparation for or waging of a war of aggression is prohibited.
(3) The transportation, production, and circulation of weapons is only permitted if authorized by the government. They are only permitted to be exported to states that belong to the same system of collective security.

Section 2

Liability of the State

Article 46

The state authority whose employees caused damage to a third party by illegal actions or the failure of employees of a public authority to observe their official duties is liable for the damage. Details will be regulated by law.

Section 3

The Federal Government, the Laender, and Municipal Autonomy

Article 47

(1) The constitutional order in the laender has to correspond to the principles of the democratic and social law-governed state.
(2) The laender have to observe the state duties if they are not transferred to the federal government or autonomous municipal authorities.

Article 48

(1) Federal law takes precedence over land law.
(2) If a land violates the duties imposed on it by the constitution or another federal law, the government can take the necessary measures with the approval of the Laender Chamber to urge the land to fulfill its duties. The government or its commissioners have the authority to give relevant directions to the land and its authorities.
(3) Legal and offical assistance provided in the federal state is also granted to the laender, and legal and official assistance provided in a land is also granted to other laender and the federal government.

Article 49

(1) It is the duty of the Federal Government to cultivate relations with foreign states and the FRG.
(2) Treaties and agreements with foreign states or the FRG which affect the jurisdiction of the laender have to be approved by the People's Chamber. Before concluding a treaty or an agreement which affects the special conditions of a land, an agreement has to be achieved with the affected land. If such an agreement is not achieved, the Laender Chamber has to decide on it.
(3) If the laender are exclusively responsible for legislation, they can conclude treaties and make agreements with foreign states, the FRG, and its laender. The Federal Government has to be consulted.

Article 50

(1) The right of the municipal authorities to responsibly regulate and administer the affairs of the local community within the framework of law is guaranteed. It includes the sovereign right to make by-laws and sovereignty over organizational, personnel, planning, and financial issues.
(2) The autonomous municipal authorities have to be enabled by revenue equalization to fulfill their tasks. They can only be divested from tasks by law and only if they are unable to fulfill them.
(3) The autonomous municipal authorities are responsible for:

1. local traffic and project planning;
2. local short-distance traffic;
3. local procurement and administration of housing;
4. social assistance;
5. basic medical supply, including health insurance;
6. child care facilities;
7. care for old people;
8. provisions for handicapped people;
9. educational institutions except for universities and technical colleges;
10. promotion of culture, youth, and mass sports and their facilities;
11. creation and maintenance of recreation areas in the immediate vicinity and leisure facilities;
12. preservation of public security by local police authorities;
13. promotion of the local economic structure;
14. supervision of building works, especially the granting of building permits;
15. avoidance, use, and removal of rubbish and waste water;
16. promotion of sister-city agreements and municipal partnerships.

(4) If other tasks were previously fulfilled by the kreises, towns, and municipalities, the autonomous municipal authorities will fulfill them by self-administration or if they were entrusted with them. Further tasks can be transferred by law.
(5) In the affairs concerning municipal autonomy, the laender are the legal supervisors and, as for the rest, they are technical supervisors.

Section 4

The People's Chamber

Article 51

(1) The People's Chamber is the supreme body for forming the will of the state. It has the task to exercise the legislative power, to check the government and the administration, to adopt the state budget, to elect the premier, to confirm the government program, and to ratify treaties under international law. It assumes all those tasks and powers of the state that are not expressly reserved for other organs by this constitution.
(2) The opposition is a necessary element of parliamentary democracy. It is an alternative to the government majority and has the right to be given equal opportunities.

Article 52

(1) The People's Chamber consists of 400 deputies. The president of the republic, the members of the Constitutional Court, the members of the Audit Office, the members of the State Bank, and the representative for the protection of data cannot be members of the People's Chamber.
(2) The deputies are representatives of the entire people and are not bound by orders and instructions. No one may force a deputy to make any decision against his conviction.
(3) The deputies have the right to take the floor in the People's Chamber or in its committees, to ask questions, make motions, and to cast their votes in elections and for resolutions. The standing orders guarantee the right to speak to those deputies that do not belong to a parliamentary group and their participation in committees.
(4) The deputies have the right to receive a remuneration and compensation for expenses that guarantee their independence, as well as the free use of public transport. The deputies' rights are neither transferable nor seizable.

Article 53

(1) Deputies must never be exposed to court action, administrative action, or called to account in any other way on the grounds of votes or statements made in the People's Chamber or in one of its committees.
(2) The right to address the meeting must not be withdrawn from deputies and they must not be barred from participating in sessions on the grounds of statements made in exercising the right to speak. Deputies can be excluded from sessions only through the decision of a majority of three-quarters of the deputies present. The exclusion from a session must not result in excluding a deputy from voting.
(3) Deputies that commit punishable deeds must be persecuted only with the permission of the People's

Chamber. In the case of arrest and other coercive measures of criminal prosecution the People's Chamber must make an immediate decision. Until the People's Chamber makes a decision, its president assumes the rights of the investigating judge. The People's Chamber's permission is also necessary in all other cases where the personal liberties of deputies are restricted.
(4) Any legal action, any arrest, and any other restriction of the personal freedom must be suspended at the request of the People's Chamber. The decision to suspend such restrictions remain valid even for the time between election terms until it is revoked.
(5) The deputies are entitled to refuse to give evidence. Even when their mandate ends the deputies have the right to refuse to give evidence on facts or persons with which they had to deal with in their capacity as deputies. The right to refuse to give evidence does not expire after a deputy vacates his seat. Property must not be attached as long as the right to refuse to give evidence is in force.

Article 54

(1) Those who run for a seat have the right to be given the leave necessary for the election preparations.
(2) No one may be prevented from assuming and executing a mandate. Employees must not be dismissed with or without notice because they assume a mandate.

Article 55

(1) The term of the People's Chamber ends four years after the first session or when it is dissolved. New elections are held in the last three months of the election term, or—in the case of dissolution—on the first Sunday after the 49th day following the dissolution.
(2) The People's Chamber assembles on the 30th day after the election at the latest, yet never before the end of the election term of the previous parliament.
(3) The People's Chamber can decide to dissolve itself at any time by a two-thirds majority of its members.
(4) The People's Chamber determines the end and the resumption of its sessions. The president of the People's Chamber can convene it earlier. He is obliged to do so on the demand of one-fifth of its members, the president of the Republic, or the premier.

Article 56

(1) The People's Chamber draws up its own standing orders and elects its president, his deputies, and the secretaries (Presidium). The president, the Presidium, the Council of Elders, the committees, and the parliamentary groups are the bodies of the People's Chamber.

(2) The president manages the affairs of the People's Chamber. He exercises the authority for the order and the domestic authority in the building of the People's Chamber. Without his approval the premises of the People's Chamber must not be searched, and nothing must be confiscated there.
(3) In accordance with the Presidium, the president manages all economic affairs of the People's Chamber and establishes the draft budget of the People's Chamber. The president is the supreme official authority for the employees of the People's Chamber. He needs the consent of the Presidium for employing or dismissing employees. The president represents the People's Chamber in all domestic and foreign affairs.

Article 57

(1) Alliances by deputies attain the position of a parliamentary group as soon as they reach five percent of the number of deputies. The Standing Orders may establish a lower percentage.
(2) The parliamentary groups have a seat and voting right in the bodies of the People's Chamber. The opposition must not be placed at a disadvantage compared to the majority and the government as far as the distribution of the allotted time speaking time is concerned.
(3) The ability to work of an individual, groups, and deputies, including independent deputies, must be guaranteed. This includes the furniture and technical equipment of offices and the financing of staffers and other necessary material.

Article 58

(1) The monitoring of elections is the duty of the People's Chamber. Complaints against decisions of the People's Chamber may be submitted to the Constitutional Court.
(2) A mandate ends if a deputy is no longer eligible or resigns. Deputies must not be stripped of their seats.

Article 59

(1) The work of the People's Chamber and its committees is open to the public. The public may be excluded from the People's Chamber with a two-thirds majority, or with the majority of members in a committee. Such motions are decided in closed session.
(2) The People's Chamber has a quorum when more than half of its members are present. Its decisions are made by the majority of the votes cast, unless this Constitution contains different stipulations.
(3) The coverage of the public sessions of the People's Chamber and its committees, as well as a documentation of the course and results of the sessions that is accessible to the public are guaranteed. No one may be made answerable for the truth of the reports on the sessions.

Article 60

(1) The People's Chamber and its committees can demand the presence of any member of the government. Each government member must answer questions of the People's Chamber.
(2) The government members and the members of the Laender Chamber have access to the sessions of the People's Chamber and its committees. The members of the government and the Laender Chamber have the right to address these sessions. The premier must always have the right to address a session.

Article 61

(1) All parliamentary groups have the right to demand that at least one of the experts they name may address the consultations of the committees.
(2) Those who propose bills must get the right to address the responsible committees. Subcommittees may be set up for this purpose.

Article 62

(1) The People's Chamber appoints a committee that deals with ideas, criticism, and complaints. The chairman of this committee is also the citizens' lawyer.
(2) The government and the administration are obliged to present files at the request of the committee, to grant access to public institutions, to supply all necessary information, and to provide administrative assistance.

Article 63

(1) The People's Chamber has the right and—at the application of a parliamentary group—the duty to appoint investigating committees, which discuss in public hearings the pieces of evidence they or the applicants regard as relevant. The public may be excluded by a two-thirds majority of committee members.
(2) The chairman is elected by a two-thirds majority of the members of the investigating committee. He must not belong to the parties or citizens' movements that constitute the government.
(3) By analogy, the regulations of the Code of Criminal Procedure are applied for the taking of evidence. At the request of one-fifth of the members of an investigating committee the government and the administration are obliged to allow their employees to testify. Courts and administrative authorities must provide legal and administrative assistance. The secrecy of the letter, the mail, and telecommunications remains untouched.
(4) The report of the investigating committee is removed from judicial reach. The courts are not bound as far as the appraisal of the facts of a case are concerned that form the basis for the investigation.

Article 64

(1) The People's Chamber appoints a Standing Committee, which safeguards the rights of the People's Chamber toward the government during two legislative periods.
(2) The Standing Committee also has the rights of an investigation committee, but it does not have the right to pass laws, to elect the premier, to vote the premier or ministers out of office, or to indict the president of the Republic.

Article 65

(1) In order to protect the human and civil rights and as auxiliary organs of the People's Chamber, a citizens' lawyer, a representative for questions of equal rights of men and women, a representative for the execution of sentences, and a representative for foreigners will be appointed. They are elected by the People's Chamber for the period of six years with a two-thirds majority of its members. They can be voted out of office with the same majority. One-time reelection is permissible.
(2) The representatives are independent in the exercise of their office and are only subject to the laws. Government and administration are obligated to give them files upon request, to give the access to public facilities, to give them all necessary information, and to give them administrative aid.
(3) The representatives publicly report to the People's Chamber once a year. The People's Chamber and its committees may request the presence of the representatives at any time.
(4) No one may be disciplined or discriminated against because of his motions or because of information given to the representatives.

Section 5

The Laender Chamber

Article 66

(1) Via the Laender Chamber, the laender participate in the legislation and administration of the Federal Government.
(2) The Laender Chamber consists of members of the land governments, who are appointed and recalled by them. Substitution is permissible.
(3) Each land has at least three votes. Laender with more than 2 million inhabitants receive one additional vote for every additional million of inhabitants. The rest of numbers are rounded off.
(4) The votes of the land can be cast only uniformly and only by the members of the Laender Chamber or their substitutes who are present. The laender may send, at most, as many members as votes to which they are entitled.

Article 67

(1) The Laender Chamber annually elects a president.
(2) The president convenes the Laender Chamber. At the request of a land or the premier, he has to convene the Laender Chamber.
(3) As far as this constitution does not stipulate otherwise, the Laender Chamber adopts its decision with the majority of the votes of its members.
(4) The discussions of the Laender Chamber are public. The public may be excluded with the agreement of two-thirds of the laender.
(5) The committees of the Laender Chamber may include other members or representatives of the land governments.

Article 68

The members of the government have the right and, upon request, the duty to participate in the discussions of the Laender Chamber and its committees. They must be heard at any time.

Section 6

The Government

Article 69

The government has the task of leading the state and the responsibility for the executive power of the federal state. It consists of the premier and the ministers.

Article 70

(1) The premier is elected by the People's Chamber at the proposal of the president of the Republic without prior discussion.
(2) A person is elected if he receives the votes of the majority of the People's Chamber deputies. The person elected is appointed by the president of the Republic.
(3) If the person proposed is not elected, the People's Chamber may elect a premier with the majority of its members within three weeks after the first ballot.
(4) If no one is elected within the period mentioned in Paragraph 3, a new ballot takes place immediately, in which the person who receives the majority of votes cast is elected. If the person elected receives the majority of the votes of the People's Chamber deputies, he must be appointed by the president of the Republic. If the person elected does not receive this majority, the president of the Republic either has to appoint him within seven days or to dissolve the People's Chamber.

Article 71

The ministers are appointed and dismissed upon the proposal of the premier by the People's Chamber president. The premier appoints deputies from the ranks of the ministers.

Article 72

The premier and the ministers swear the following oath to the People's Chamber upon assuming office: "I swear that I will dedicate my strength to the welfare of the people, that I will safeguard law and order of the GDR, that I will conscientiously fulfill my duties, and that I will exercise justice toward everyone." The oath my be supplemented by a religious oath.

Article 73

The premier and the minister may not exercise any other paid office, trade, or profession. Participation in any economic enterprises is granted by the People's Chamber if the enterprise is aimed at profit.

Article 74

(1) The premier heads the government and determines the guidelines of the policy within the framework of the government program confirmed by the People's Chamber. Within these guidelines, each minister is heading his area of influence independently and by his own authority.
(2) The government decides on differences of opinion among the ministers. The premier heads the government in line with the rules of procedure decided by the government and approved by the People's Chamber president.

Article 75

(1) The People's Chamber may express its distrust in the premier only by electing a successor with the majority of its members. The person elected is to be appointed by the president of the republic.
(2) The motion and the ballot must be separated by a period of 48 hours.

Article 76

(1) If the premier's request for a vote of confidence is not approved by the majority of the People's Chamber members, the president of the Republic must dissolve the People's Chamber on the 21st day after the vote, if it has not elected a premier with the majority of its members by then.
(2) The motion and the vote must be separated by a period of 48 hours.

Article 77

(1) The office of the premier or of a minister ends with the convening of a new People's Chamber; the office of a minister also ends with the resignation or any other kind of end to the office of the premier.
(2) Each minister must resign if the People's Chamber withdraws its trust.
(3) If the office of the premier ends, he and, together with him, the government are obligated to continue their work until a newly formed government takes over. Upon request by the premier, a minister has to continue his work until his successor is appointed.

Section 7

The President of the Republic

Article 78

The president of the Republic is the head of state.

Article 79

(1) The president represents the GDR under international law. He accredits and receives the chiefs of the diplomatic missions.
(2) If he is unavailable, the president of the Laender Chamber substitutes for the president.

Article 80

Treaties with foreign states and treaties with the FRG, which concern matters for which the Federal Government has the legislative authority, require approval by the People's Chamber in the form of a law if they are intended to establish domestic rights and duties. The regulations of this constitution on the participation by the Laender Chamber remain untouched. Other treaties require the approval by the People's Chamber if they are of considerable importance for the GDR.

Article 81

(1) Upon proposal of the election committees established at his office, the president appoints the federal judges and the prosecutor general as well as the members of the State Bank and the Federal Auditing Court.
(2) A representative for data protection is appointed at the president's office. The data protection representative is appointed by the president. Article 65, Paragraphs 1 to 4 are applicable.

Article 82

The president exercises the power of pardon of the Federal Government.

Article 83

The president donates and awards orders.

Article 84

The president may establish expert committees for subjects which are of particular importance for the general public.

Article 85

(1) The president is elected by the Federal Assembly for four years without prior discussion. Reelection is permissible. The Federal Assembly consists of all deputies of the People's Chamber, of the diets, as well as of the people's representative bodies of the kreises and the towns constituting kreises.
(2) The Federal Assembly convenes for the election at the same hour, separated according to laender. In the laender the diets and the people's representative bodies of the kreises and of the towns constituting kreises convene jointly. The People's Chamber deputies convene separately.
(3) The Federal Assembly is convened by the People's Chamber president in agreement with the president of the Laender Chamber. The partial assemblies of the Federal Assembly in the laender are chaired by the diet presidents.

Article 86

(1) The person who receives the majority of the votes of the Federal Assembly is elected.
(2) If the president is not elected in the first ballot, only the three candidates who received most of the votes in the first ballot are to be admitted to the second ballot, which is to be held immediately. The person who receives most of the votes is elected.
(3) After the president accepts his election, the president swears his oath of office to the People's Chamber in the formula set down in Article 72. Article 72, Sentence 2 is applicable.

Article 87

(1) The president enjoys immunity and indemnity.
(2) The president can be held accountable for violating his official duties only by the Constitutional Court. The People's Chamber has the right to bring a motion to this effect. The motion requires the approval of two-thirds of its members.

Article 88

The president may not be a member of a government or of a legislative body. He may not exercise any other paid office, trade, or profession and may not be a member of the board of governors or directors of a company.

Chapter III

Functions of the State

Section 1

Legislation

Article 89

Laws are adopted by the People's Chamber or by referendum.

Article 90

(1) If federal laws are adopted by the People's Chamber, they need to be approved by the Laender Chamber to become effective if this is stipulated by the constitution; in other cases, the Laender Chamber has the right to object.
(2) In the People's Chamber draft laws are submitted by its members, by the government, or at the decision of the Laender Chamber. At least two readings are to be scheduled, and the committees are to be given sufficient time for discussion.
(3) Drafts by the government are to be sent to the People's Chamber together with a statement by the Laender Chamber; drafts by the Laender Chamber are to be sent to the People's Chamber together with a statement by the government. The period in which to make a statement is six weeks.

Article 91

(1) Apart from the other cases mentioned in the constitution, laws of the People's Chamber on the following topics require approval by the Laender Chamber:

1. Changes in land borders;
2. Establishment of independent bodies of federal administration;
3. Judicial organization;
4. Distribution of taxes levied by the federal state;
5. Regional planning and special planning by the federal state;
6. Administrative procedures.

(2) If the passing of a law required approval, this also applies to subsequent amendments.

Article 92

(1) After being adopted by the People's Chamber, laws are sent immediately to the Laender Chamber by the People's Chamber president.

(2) Within two weeks after receiving the law, the Laender Chamber may request that a committee, consisting of an equal number of members of the People's Chamber and the Laender Chamber, be convened for the joint discussion of draft laws. The composition and the proceedings of this committee are regulated by rules of procedure, which require the approval by the People's Chamber and the Laender Chamber. The members of the Laender Chamber sent to this committee are not bound by instructions. If a law requires the approval of the Laender Chamber, the People's Chamber and the government may request the convening of this committee. If the committee proposes a change in the law, the People's Chamber has to decide again.

(3) If a law does not require approval by the Laender Chamber, the Laender Chamber may object to a law adopted by the People's Chamber within one week, as soon as the proceedings in line with Paragraph 2 have been concluded. If Paragraph 2, last sentence, is applicable, the period for entering an opposition starts with receiving the new decision of the People's Chamber, in all other cases it starts with the conclusion of the proceedings in the committee envisaged in Paragraph 2.
(4) If the objection is decided with the majority of the votes of the Laender Chamber, it may be rejected by a decision of the majority of the People's Chamber members. If the Laender Chamber adopted the objection with a majority of at least two-thirds of its votes, the rejection by the People's Chamber requires a majority of two-thirds of those present, at least the majority of the People's chamber members.

Article 93

A law adopted by the People's chamber is passed if the Laender Chamber agrees, does not bring a motion in line with Article 92, Paragraph 2, does not object within the period mentioned in Article 92, Paragraph 3, or withdraws it, or if the objection is rejected by the People's Chamber in line with Article 92, Paragraph 4.

Article 94

(1) The government may be authorized by law to issue decrees. A decree must mention the legal basis. Decrees that change laws are inadmissible.
(2) The law may determine that before a decree is issued the responsible People's chamber committee must be heard and that the effectiveness of the decree depends on the fact that the committee does not object to the decree. If a law requires approval, this also applies to decrees.
(3) Framework laws may envisage that the diets issue authorization for issuing decrees by correspondingly applying Paragraphs 1 and 2.

Article 95

The Federal Government and the laender have the power of legislation if the constitution expressly gives them this power. In other areas the laender have the power of legislation, if and as long as the Federal Government does not exercise its power. The Federal Government may issue framework laws in the fields of his legislative power.

Article 96

The Federal Government has the exclusive power of legislation on:

1. Foreign affairs;
2. Citizenship;
3. Civil law and law of civil procedure, penal law and law of criminal procedure, labor and social law, including enterprise organization and procedural law, judicial organization;
4. Freedom of movement, passports, immigration and emigration, and extradition;
5. Currency, monetary system, and coinage, measures and weights, as well as time;
6. Unity of customs and trade area, trade and shipping contracts, freedom of goods traffic, as well as goods and capital transactions with other countries, including customs and border protection;
7. Laws for the economy, including enterprise organization;
8. Real property law and real property transactions, including the laws of expropriation;
9. Mining, energy supply, including laws on nuclear energy;
10. Matters of defense;
11. German Railroads, air traffic, federal waterways, highways;
12. Post and telecommunications;
13. Legal circumstances of persons employed by the federal government and public federal bodies;
14. Legal protection of business, copyright, and right to publish;
15. Organization of the criminal investigations department, international combating of crimes, as well as counterespionage;
16. Statistics for federal purposes;
17. Other cases mentioned in this constitution.

Article 97

The laender have the exclusive power of legislation on:

1. The laender's public law;
2. The laender's regional planning;
3. The right to repel dangers;
4. Establishment of independent bodies of land administration;
5. Establishment of judicial districts;
6. Establishment of bodies vested with local autonomy and local law;
7. Nature and landscape protection;
8. Building regulations;
9. Establishment of universities and technical colleges;
10. Establishment of archives and libraries in the laender, and promotion of culture;
11. Care for monuments in the laender;
12. Narrow gauge railways and cable cars;

13. Forestry and hunting and inland fishing;
14. Avoidance, recycling, and removal of household waste and building rumble;
15. Markets and fairs.

Article 98

(1) Bills for a referendum are submitted to the president of the republic in the form of petitions for a referendum. Petitions for a referendum must be based on a drafted and well-founded bill. Nine confidants are to be named in the draft. A referendum is to be held if the peition is supported by 750,000 citizens who are entitled to vote.
(2) A referendum on the state budget will not be held.
(3) The president presents the draft to the government immediately. If he doubts the permissibility of the demand for a referendum, he requests a decision of the Constitutional Court within four weeks; the confidants are to be involved in the proceedings.
(4) The premier presents the demand for a referendum together with a statement by the government to the People's Chamber within one month. The confidants are to be involved in the consultations of the responsible People's Chamber committees and have the right to speak there. The referendum does not take place if the People's Chamber accepts the draft law within three months after its presentation without any changes or in a version, to which two- thirds of the confidants have agreed. The representatives of the demand for the referendum have the right to speak when the committee gives its reports. Furthermore, the referendum is to be held within 10 weeks after the expiration of the period mentioned in sentence three. Within this period, the supporters of the demand for a referendum are to be given the opportunity of free advertising for their concerns in the public mass media.
(5) At the referendum, the vote may be only "yes" or "no." The majority of the votes cast decides.
(6) Procedures are regulated by law.

Article 99

(1) After being countersigned by the premier, the laws, which are drawn up in line with the regulations of this constitution, are issued by the People's Chamber president and are published in the Legal Gazette.
(2) Decrees are to be published in the Legal Gazette.
(3) Every law and every decree comes into force on the 14th day after the end of the day on which the Legal Gazette is published, if no regulations to the contrary are issued.

Article 100

(1) This constitution can be amended only via a People's Chamber law, which requires the approval of two-thirds of the People's Chamber deputies. It must expressly change or supplement the text of the constitution. It must be confirmed in a referendum.
(2) An amendment of the constitution, which calls into question the principles set down in Articles 1, 40, 42, 89, and 107, is impermissible.

Section 2

Administration

Article 101

The laender execute the federal laws as their own matters, as far as this constitution does not stipulate or permit otherwise.

Article 102

(1) If the laender execute the federal laws as their own matters, they regulate the establishment of authorities and administrative proceedings, if federal laws do not stipulate otherwise with the approval of the Laender Chamber. With the approval of the Laender Chamber, the Federal Government may issue general administrative rules.
(2) The Federal Government exercises legal supervision. For this purpose, it may send representatives to the supreme land authorities.
(3) If complaints are not satisfied, the Laender Chamber decides whether the land has violated the law. The decision of the Laender Chamber may be appealed at the Constitutional Court.

Article 103

If the Federal Government executes laws via federal administration or via bodies that are directly subordinate to it or via public institutions, the general administrative rules are issued by the government. The same goes for the establishment of authorities.

Article 104

(1) The following are bodies that are directly administered by the Federal Government:

1. Foreign service;
2. The Financial Administration in line with Article 118 and customs;
3. The approval and supervision of nuclear facilities;
4. German Postal Service;
5. Federal roads including federal waterways;
6. Air traffic;
7. The Armed Forces including the border troops;
8. Counterespionage;
9. The criminal investigations department.

Article 105

(1) The Federal Government may participate in fulfilling the tasks of the laender, if these tasks are important for the entire country and the participation of the Federal Government is necessary to improve living conditions. The participation of the Federal Government is to be agreed on in state treaties. The treaties are to provide for regulations on the proceedings and financing. The allocation of means is reserved to the budget laws of the federal government and the laender.

(2) The Federal Government and the Laender Chamber are to be informed on the fulfillment of joint tasks.

Article 106

(1) An independent State Bank is established by law as a juridical person under public law.
(2) The State Bank has to take into account the requirements of price stability, foreign trade balance, and an appropriate economic growth, while especially keeping an eye on the goal of full employment.
(3) The members of the board of governors of the State Bank are to be elected by the Electoral Committee, which is to be established by the president. In addition to the members of the Electoral Committee in line with Article 125, Paragraph 3 (Auditing Court), this Committee includes five other members in line with the law of establishment.
(4) The finance minister and the chairman of the People's Chamber Finance Committee have the right to participate in the sessions of the State Bank board of governors.

Section 3

Administration of Justice

Article 107

The judicial power is entrusted to the judges. The judges are independent and are subject only to the constitution and to the law.

Article 108

(1) The judicial power is exercised by the Constitutional Court and by other courts of the federal state and the laender for criminal offenses, for civilian, family, administrative, financial, labor law, and social law disputes, as well as by social courts.
(2) If court branches do not yet exist, their establishment requires a law. Extraordinary courts shall be inadmissible.

Article 109

(1) The Constitutional Court is a federal court that is independent and autonomous toward all other constitutional organs. The Constitutional Court issues rules of procedure for itself.
(2) There shall be no right of appeal against decisions of the Constitutional Court. The decision formula binds the federal and laender organs as well as all courts and authorities.
(3) The decision of the Constitutional Court about the constitutionality of a legal rule has the force of law. The decisions formula is to be published in the Legal Gazette.

Article 110

(1) The Constitutional Court decides:

1. Constitutional complaints by citizens against the violation of their human and civil rights by public authorities;

2. Doubts concerning the compatibility of federal laws with this constitution at the request of one-fifth of the members of the People's chamber, the federal government, or a land government;

3. Doubts concerning the compatibility of treaties in line with Article 80 with this constitution after the beginning of the legislative proceedings, at the request of one-third of the members of the People's Chamber or a land government;

4. Doubts concerning the compatibility of land laws with this constitution and with other laws of the federal state at the request of one-third of the members of the People's Chamber, the federal government, or a land government;

5. The request of a court on the compatibility of a federal or land law with this constitution, if the court is convinced of the unconstitutionality of the respective law and if this is of importance for the decision of the court;

6. The request of a court on doubts whether a rule of international law is part of domestic law and whether it results in direct rights and duties for the individual;

7. Disputes on the extent of the rights and duties of federal organs or other parties involved that are vested with their own rights by this constitution or in rules of procedure of supreme federal organs;

8. Cases of differences of opinion on rights and duties of the Federal Government and the laender, in particular in exercising federal law by the laender and in exercising federal supervision;

9. Other public disputes between the Federal Government and the laender, between different laender, or within one land, as far as there is no other legal recourse;

10. Complaints by bodies vested with local autonomy and other public bodies because of a violation of their rights.

In addition, it decides other cases sent to it on the basis of the constitution and the law.

Article 111

(1) The constitutional court consists of the president, two vice presidents, and six constitutional judges. They must not belong to any other state organ during their term of office.
(2) The Constitutional Court forms a Senate and three chambers, which prepare the Senate decisions. The chambers may decide unanimously on constitutional complaints and motions of judges, if the Senate has already passed a judgment on the same legal matter, or if the matter is of minor importance, or if the legal situation is obvious.
(3) The proceedings at the Constitutional Court are free of charge.

Article 112

(1) The judges of the Constitutional Court are elected by a Judges Election Committee, which is to be established

at the president of the Republic, for the period of 12 years. Reelection is impossible.
(2) The Judges Election Committee consists of
—the president of the Republic as chairman;
—two representatives each appointed by the land governments and not bound by instructions as well as of twice their number of People's Chamber deputies, who are appointed in line with the principles of election by proportional representation.
(3) The Committee decides with a two-thirds majority of the votes of its members.

Article 113

(1) The legal position of the judges is to be regulated by a special law.
(2) The federal judges are elected by a committee, which is formed in line with the rule of Article 112, paragraph 2 and supplemented by the respective responsible minister. The committee decides with the majority of its members' votes.
(3) The professional judges are appointed for life. They can be relieved of their office permanently or temporarily or transferred to another post or retired against their will only by means of a judicial decision and for reasons and under the forms, which are stated by the laws. The law may set down an age limit, at which judges retire. If the judicial districts are altered, judges may be transferred to another court or may be retired with full payment.

Chapter IV

State Finances

Article 114

(1) The Federal Government and the laender separately pay the expenditures that result form exercising their tasks, if the constitution does not stipulate anything to the contrary. Federal laws that grant monetary allowances must state specifically that the payments are made by the Federal Government.
(2) The Federal Government may grant to the laender financial aid for particularly important investments by the laender or by the bodies vested with local autonomy, which are necessary to compensate for different economic capacity or to promote economic growth. Financial aid may also be granted for investments to promote environmental protection and to improve the agricultural structure. Details are determined by a law, which requires the approval of the Laender chamber.

Article 115

(1) The Federal Government issues laws on customs duties and taxes, if this is not the right of the laender in line with sentence two. The laender are entitled to issue laws on local excise duties and luxury taxes.
(2) Customs duties, taxes, and other rates may be levied only on the basis of legal rules.
(3) Federal laws on taxes, the revenue from which goes completely or partly to the laender, require the approval of the Laender Chamber.

Article 116

(1) The revenue from the following taxes goes to the Federal Government:

—Customs duties;
—Excise taxes, as far as they do not go to the federal government and the laender together, in line with paragraph 4, or to the bodies vested with local autonomy in line with paragraph 3;
—Capital transaction taxes;
—Insurance tax.

(2) The revenue from the following taxes goes to the laender:

—Land transfer tax;
—Property tax;
—Automobile license fee;
—Inheritance tax;
—Betting and lottery tax.

(3) The revenue from the following taxes goes to the bodies vested with local autonomy:

—Trade tax;
—Land tax;
—Local taxes.

(4) The revenue from income tax, corporate tax, and turnover tax goes to the federal government and to the laender together (joint taxes), if the revenue from income tax is not allocated to the bodies vested with local autonomy in line with Paragraph 5. The shares of the federal government and the laender are set down by law, which requires the approval of the Laender Chamber. In this connection, the federal government and the laender have equal claim to covering their necessary expenditures within the framework of day-to-day revenue. The setting down of the shares is to be made in such a way that the uniformity of living conditions in the federal territory is established and preserved as far as possible. If the laender are subjected to additional expenses by federal laws or are deprived of revenues, the additional burden resulting from the federal law, which requires the approval of the Laender Chamber, may be temporarily compensated for through financial allowances by the federal government.
(5) The bodies vested with local autonomy receive their share in the revenues from income tax, which enables them to fulfill their task. The share is sent on by the laender to their bodies vested with local autonomy in line with the number of inhabitants, while taking into consideration the different living conditions. Details are determined by a law, which requires the approval of the Laender Chamber.
(6) From the share of the laender in the overall revenue from joint taxes, the bodies vested with local autonomy receive a certain percentage, which is to be determined by land laws. The land laws also decide whether and to

what extent the revenue from land taxes goes to the bodies vested with local autonomy.
(7) The bodies vested with local autonomy are to be given the right to set down the rate of assessment for trade tax and land tax.

Article 117

(1) The revenue from land taxes and the share of the laender in the revenue from income and corporate taxes goes to the individual laender if the taxes are levied by the financial authorities on their territory (local revenue). A law, which requires the approval of the Laender Chamber, may make further regulations on the delineation and the form and extent of dividing the local revenue. The share of the laender in the revenue from turnover tax goes to the individual laender in line with their number of inhabitants.
(2) A law, which requires the approval of the Laender Chamber, is to make sure that the differing financial power of the laender is compensated for in an appropriate way; in this respect, the financial power and the financial requirements of the bodies vested with local autonomy are to be taken into consideration. The law may also determine that the federal government grants allowances from its means to low-capacity laender to help cover their general financial demand (supplementary allowances).

Article 118

(1) The federal government and the laender establish financial administrations.
(2) Customs duties and the excise taxes regulated by the federal government, including the import turnover tax, are administered by federal financial authorities. The establishment of these authorities is regulated by a federal law.
(3) The other taxes are administered by the financial authorities of the laender. The establishment of these authorities and the uniform training of the members of the civil service are regulated by a federal law, which requires the approval of the Laender Chamber.
(4) The administrative procedures, that are to be used by the federal financial authorities, are regulated by a federal law. The procedures that are used by the financial authorities of the laender are regulated by a federal law, which requires the approval of the Laender Chamber.

Article 119

(1) The federal government and the laender are autonomous and independent of each other in their budget management. Under special consideration for the goal of full employment, they have to live up to the requirements of price stability, foreign trade balance, and an appropriate economic growth.
(2) A federal law, which requires the approval of the Laender Chamber, may set down principles, which apply both for the federal government and for the laender, concerning budget law, budget management, as well as for financial planning covering several years, as well as limit the raising of loans by the federal government, the laender, and the bodies vested with local autonomy as well as other public budgets in order to prevent a disturbance of the overall economic balance.

Article 120

(1) The federal budget serves to set down and cover the financial demand, which is necessary to fulfill the federal tasks during one year. The adopted budget plan is the binding basis for budget and economic management.

(2) The federal budget plan is adopted by means of a law before the beginning of a budget year.
(3) All revenues and expenditures of the federal government are to be included in the budget plan. In the case of state-owned enterprises only allocations or deliveries need to be listed.
(4) The budget plan is to be balanced in terms of revenues and expenditures.
(5) The draft law in line with paragraph 2 as well as the motions for amending the budget law and the budget plan are submitted to the People's Chamber at the same time as they are sent to the Laender Chamber; the Laender Chamber is entitled to make a statement on the motions within six weeks, in case of motions for amendments within three weeks.

Article 121

(1) If by the end of the financial year the budget plan for the following year has not been set down by law, until it comes into force the government is entitled to fulfill all tasks that are necessary

a) to maintain legally existing institutions and to implement legally decided measures;
b) to fulfill legally founded obligations;
c) to continue construction, procurement, and other services or to continue granting allowances for these purposes if money has already been approved by the previous budget plan.

(2) If the expenditures mentioned in Paragraph 1 are not covered by revenues from taxes and other rates, which are based on a special law, the government is permitted to gain the means necessary to maintain economic managements by means of loans up to a limit of one-quarter of the loans raised during the past financial year.

Article 122

Expenditures in excess and outside the plan require the approval of the finance minister. Permission is to be given only in the case of unforeseen and unavoidable demands. Expenditures in excess and outside the plan are to be balanced by savings concerning other expenditures of the federal budget. Details may be set down by federal laws.

Article 123

Laws, which increase the expenditures of the budget plan proposed by the government or include new tasks or result in such tasks for the future, require approval by the

government. The same goes for laws, which include reductions in revenues or result in such reductions for the future.

Article 124

(1) The raising of loans as well as the acceptance of sureties, guarantees, or other forms of warranty, which may lead to expenditures in future financial years, require authorization by federal law, depending on their amount.
(2) Revenues from loans must not exceed the sum of expenditures for investments envisaged in the budget plan. Exceptions are permissible only in order to avoid a disturbance of the overall economic balance.
(3) Details are regulated by federal law.

Article 125

(1) The finance minister has to account to the People's Chamber during the next year about all budget revenues of a financial year as well as about their use and about the debts of the federal government for the formal approval of the government. The accountability report is to be accompanied by evidence of the financial situation.
(2) The examination of the budget account as well as of whether budget and economic management were economical and correct is carried out by the Federal Auditing Court. Its members have judicial independence. Article 65 Paragraph 2 Sentence 2 is correspondingly applicable. The Auditing Court has to report annually on the results of its work to the government, the People's Chamber, and to the Laender Chamber.
(3) The members of the Auditing Court are elected by and Electoral Committee, which is to be established at the president of the republic. This Committee comprises:

1. the president as chairman;
2. the People's Chamber president;
3. the members of the People's Chamber Finance Committee;
4. the finance minister;
5. the finance ministers of the laender.

Chapter V

Transitional and Concluding Regulations

Article 126

(1) After this Constitution comes into force, the laws will be decided exclusively by the legislative bodies of the federal state and of the laender, which are envisaged in this Constitution.
(2) Federal laws are those laws of the GDR, the subjects of which do not lie within the exclusive legislative authority of the laender.

(3) Land laws are those laws of the GDR, the subjects of which lie within the exclusive legislative authority of the laender. For a period of four years after this Constitution comes into force, the laender may amend, supplement, or rescind these land laws only together and with the approval of the Laender Chamber. Until the first meeting of the Laender Chamber, the People's Chamber may amend, supplement, or rescind legal regulations that continue to be valid as land laws.

Article 127

(1) In accordance with this Article, GDR laws continue to be valid if they are not contrary to this Constitution.
(2) Until the valid laws are adapted to this Constitution, the rights in line with Articles 8, Paragraph 2; Article 21, Paragraph 4; Article 23, Paragraph 3; Article 26; and Article 27, Paragraph 3, Sentence 4 continue to be valid to the extent to which they were valid when they came into force; the adaptation must take place by 31 December 1990 at the latest.
(3) Facilities, which, in violation of the regulations of Article 33, Paragraphs 2 and 3, cause dangers or impediments to the natural environment may continue to operate for five years after the time this Constitution comes into force, if they do not exceed the amount of their emissions of 31 March 1990 and if effective measures to gradually reduce these emissions to the limits permitted by this Constitution are taken immediately. The regulations of Article 33, Paragraph 4 apply to existing facilities only under the terms of the law.

Article 128

The legislative assignments issued in Articles 21, Paragraph 3, Sentence 3 and Article 113, Paragraph 1 are to be fulfilled by the federal government and the laender by 31 December 1990. Judges who were elected before this Constitution comes into force, remain in office until the law mentioned in Article 113, Paragraph 1 comes into force.

Article 129

(1) The laender mentioned in Article 41, Paragraph 1 are established upon the coming into force of this Constitution.
(2) The People's Chamber shall immediately pass a law, which sets down the borders of the laender and contains preliminary regulations on the establishment of laender administrations as well as regulations on the constituting of the supreme state organs of the laender (land establishment law). This law needs a two-thirds majority among the People's Chamber deputies.

Article 130

People who themselves or their ancestors were persecuted or threatened with persecution because of belonging to a certain race or religion during the period of 30 January 1933 to 9 May 1945, may claim preferential naturalization, if they or their descendants are again subjected to discrimination as a result of their belonging to a certain group.

Article 131

(1) The land reform and ejectment, which were confirmed by Article 24 of the GDR Constitution of 7 October 1949, are inviolable.

(2) Expropriations and other forms of deprivation of possession, which took place in accordance with GDR law at the time of their execution, remain effective regardless of formal inaccuracies of land registers, cadastres, and other public registers. The same goes for rights to property, which citizens left upon their departure from the GDR, and which have been transferred in final form to third parties or are used by third parties in accordance with the respective valid GDR law. Use of such property rights are to be protected. The users are entitled to purchasing the property in line with the legal regulations on value assessment that were valid on 31 December 1989 if the property is in the hands of a public body. If this concerns apartments, real estate for houses, and real estate property that is used for recreational purposes, the personal users have right to the property.
(3) Property, which was seized under violation of the respective valid GDR law is to be returned to the legal proprietor upon request, if it is still under the disposal of a public body. This does not apply to apartments and real estate for houses, as well as to real estate property that is used for recreational purposes. It also does not apply to property, which has been transferred to the disposal of cooperatives and state-owned enterprises.

(4) If a return of the property in line with Paragraph 3 is impossible, the decrees issued in the meantime remain valid. The legal position of the users is determined by Paragraph 2, Sentences 3 to 5. Use is to be protected also if the property is returned in line with Paragraph 3. The former owners are to be paid compensation. Compensation is to be determined on a legal basis, under just weighing of the interests of the public and the parties involved, on the basis of the law of value assessment valid at the time of departure from the GDR; in this connection, the time and the special personal circumstances, which led to the departure from the GDR, are to be taken into account. Compensation may be paid in installments. If payments for the equalization of burdens are involved in view of a loss in property, compensation is impossible. In appropriate cases, an agreeable balance of interests between the parties involved is to be promoted, which replaces compensation.
(5) Full property rights to personal property, which has been put under trusteeship by the state or another trustee in line with the legal regulations valid until 31 December 1989, are to be reestablished upon request by the person entitled; if the trustee has disposed of the property, the revenues are to be returned. This does not apply to personal property, which is used by state-owned enterprises or cooperatives.
(6) If the right to immovable property, which is administered by a trustee, is not transferred to new legal entities in line with the following regulations, the full property rights of the persons entitled are to be reestablished upon their request. The property right to apartments, real estate for houses, and real estate property for recreational purposes, which are administered by a trustee, is transferred to the bodies vested with local autonomy on whose territory they are located. The regulations of Paragraph 2, Sentences 3 and 4 apply to the personal users. The right to immovable cooperative property, which is administered by a trustee, is transferred to the cooperative that uses this property. The right to immovable operating assets of an enterprise, which are administered by a trustee, is transferred to the trustee. It is to be transferred to the enterprises that use these assets, as soon as they adopt the legal form of an independent enterprise. The land where these enterprises are located is entitled to ownership. The regulations of Paragraph 4, Sentences 4 to 8 are applicable.

Article 132

(1) If unity is implemented by acceding to the FRG, the preconditions under which the FRG Basic Law is put into force for the current territory of the GDR are to be settled by means of an agreement. The fulfillment of the GDR's obligations under international law and in foreign trade must be ensured.
(2) In order to become effective, the agreement needs a two-thirds majority of the People's Chamber deputies and a confirmation by a referendum.
(3) This agreement is to contain regulations on the accelerated adjustment of the economic capacity of the regions located on the current GDR territory and of the living conditions of their inhabitants to the conditions existing on the current FRG territory. In order to implement the GDR citizens' right to participate in the democratic self-determination of the German people, the constitution of an all-German legislative assembly is to be worked for.
(4) Furthermore, the agreement is to envisage that the human and civil rights guaranteed in this Constitution continue to be valid on the current GDR territory even if they establish rights that are not contained in the Basic law. This also applies to the direct link of third parties to these rights. They are to continue to be valid as constitutional land laws; the validity of Article 31 of the FRG Basic Law is thus to be excluded. The agreement is to envisage that the GDR's legal regulations, which are compatible with the afore- mentioned rights but not with the FRG Basic Law, continue to be valid as land laws on the current GDR territory, contrary to Article 31 of the FRG Basic Law. Amendments to the laws, which continue to be valid in line with this paragraph, require the approval of all laender established on the current GDR territory.

Article 133

Until a president of the republic is elected in line with Article 85, the People's Chamber president exercises his functions.

Article 134

On the day of the coming into force of this Constitution, the GDR Constitution of 6 April 1968 in the amended version of 5 April 1990 becomes invalid.

Article 135

(1) In order to be adopted this Constitution needs a People's Chamber decision with a two-thirds majority of its members and a confirmation by a referendum. As a preliminary Basic Law it may be put into force by a People's Chamber decision with a two-thirds majority of its members.

(2) The Constitution is issued by the People's Chamber president and is published in the GDR LEGAL GAZETTE.

Article 136

This Constitution becomes invalid on the day on which a Constitution comes into force, which has been adopted by an all-German legislative assembly and has been confirmed by a referendum, or on the day on which it becomes invalid after the preconditions set down in Article 132 have emerged.

Parliament Opposses Referendum on New Constitution

LD2604155190 Hamburg DPA in German 1412 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—There will be no fundamentally new constitution in the GDR before the unification of the two German states. The opposition parliamentary group of the Alliance 90/Greens, supported by the PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism], failed in their attempt to bring in a motion today during the People's Chamber session in Berlin that a relevant committee should produce a new constitution on the basis of a draft drawn up by the central roundtable. The majority of parliament, above all the Alliance for Gemany and the Liberals, also opposed holding a referendum on a new constitution on 17 June 1990.

However it emerged that the coalition parliamentary groups of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU], Democratic Awakening [DA], German Social Union [DSU], Social Democratic Party [SPD] and liberals were striving for a transitional solution until unification. Representatives of the conservative Alliance partners and the Liberals regard the 1949 GDR Constitution as a good basis.

In the words of Disarmament and Defense Minister Rainer Eppelmann (DA), the GDR will adhere to a conscript army until the creation of new European security structures. The minister referred to considerable savings in the defense budget. Eppelmann announced that during his talks tomorrow he will ask Federal Defense Minister Gerhard Stoltenbeg (CDU) for clarification as to why the FRG defense budget this year is the highest in post-war history.

Foreign Minister Markus Meckel (SPD) stressed that NATO membership is not the GDR's aim. A condition for membership would first be a change in the structures of the Western Alliance. Meckel assured the Warsaw Pact states that the GDR will fulfill its obligations. The aim is an all-European security system.

During the debate on the government statement by Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere (CDU) made a week ago, Finance Minister Walter Romberg (SPD) spoke in favor of paying supplements to the wages and salaries exchanged at a rate of 1:1 after the introduction of the monetary union. De Maiziere said with regard to the present state of talks on a monetary, economic, and social union with the Federal Republic, that many things have alredy been achieved. There is an opening-balance in D-Marks, but it would be good if there was also a final-balance in (East) Marks, for then many demands would be much more modest than those made in this respect.

A new oath of allegiance has been passed by the People's Chamber which is to be sworn by those conscripts joining up in May. Minister Eppelmann stressed while introducing the oath that it is no longer acceptable for soldiers to swear an oath in its present form. He described the new formulation of the oath as not so "militant".

The new formula is: "I swear to fulfill my military duties constantly in an honorable and disciplined manner and true to the laws of the GDR. I swear to use all my strength for the maintenance of peace and the defense of the GDR." In the old and significantly longer formula of the oath it said: "I swear to be preapred at all times as a soldier of the NVA [Natonal People's Army] at the side of the Soviet Army and the armies of the socialist countries allied with us to defend socialism against all enemies and to risk my life to achieve victory."

A motion presented orally by the DSU that all officers who had taken the old oath should also have to swear the new formula was not dealt with. Eppelmann replied that he will take this away with him as a task but will first of all

Minister Pohl on Economic Improvement Plans

AU2504104690 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 21 Apr 90 p 3

[Report on interview with Economics Minister Gerhard Pohl by Norbert Schwaldt in East Berlin; date not given: "Plan Methods Are Put to Sleep"]

[Text] The new economics minister has not even been able to move into his office. Appointments and the problems in the collapsing economy of the eastern part of Germany, which have accumulated for decades, drove the new man from meeting to meeting. Not until Thursday morning [19 April] was he able to take over his office from his predecessor Christa Luft. Gerhard Pohl (Christian Democratic Union of Germany), who was previously research director in the Forst Cloth Factory state-owned enterprise, has taken over a collection of offices, in which about 5,000 economists and experts have been trying for many years to predetermine every

movement of the consumer and every movement of the producer and to put them on paper. This was called planning.

The results of this failed policy are obvious. For the first time since the end of the war, the people in the GDR are feeling price turbulences, deficiencies, and the danger of unemployment. In view of the competition of cheap and attractive goods from the West, the prospects of many enterprises are uncertain. After a long period of lethargy, the clay colossus of the economic apparatus has started to move. We asked the new economics minister about his intentions.

[Schwaldt] Which tasks do you want to tackle already over the next few days to help our economy clamber to its feet again?

[Pohl] In my view, there are four essential tasks. First, we have to tackle the necessary conditions of the legal framework for economic community with the FRG. Since this is a difficult undertaking and there is a lack of necessary experts, such as economic lawyers, in all the ministries I have taken over, we accept the offer for support from the Bonn Economics Ministry. Minister Haussmann promised me this important help in our talks. This involves, above all, the revision of the existing draft law on the right to establishment, the amendment to the bank law, and certain follow-up regulations in these fields, up to a decree on areas of business, a law on unfair competition, and other regulations that will become effective immediately.

I do not think that we can put together a big parcel of economic laws immediately, but that we have to draw up a decisive package of measures in the interest of promoting entrepreneurial initiatives. This package of measures can then be seen as the core of the new economic laws.

The second important task is the restructuring of the Economic Ministry. In many places work is still being done in line with the principles of planned economy. These have to be "put to sleep." Instead, the social market economy must be given space to develop. As Lothar de Maiziere stressed in the government statement, this means as much market as possible and as little planning as necessary. The restructuring of the apparatuses is a process which will take a longer time. First of all, I have to constitute this Economic Ministry.

A third sphere of problems lies in creating the intra-German economic community while retaining the obligations of the GDR in the CEMA. We want to attend the upcoming session of the CEMA Executive Committee in Moscow with responsibility.

The fourth—and not least—set of tasks is the policy involving medium-sized enterprises. Here we want to quickly support the acquisition of rooms for businesses. The founding of new medium-sized enterprises is particularly important for the creation of jobs.

[Schwaldt] Why can the draft law on the right to establishment, which the old People's Chamber was not able to pass for reasons of time, not be voted on now?

[Pohl] The original paper proceeds from considerations which are not those of the coalition government. This involves the issue of land, of the dominance of state property, and other clearly ideological premises. In addition, certain possibilities of the right to establishment, such as the inclusion of the banks, are not sufficiently taken into account in the old draft. The law must be drafted in a far more comprehensive way, must become more liberal, and must provide stimuli. The result is to be available by the end of May.

[Schwaldt] In view of the establishment of Western companies in the GDR and of the opening of the market, is there not a danger that GDR companies will be suffocated by the competition?

[Pohl] There are areas in the economy which have taken a good lead in adapting to market conditions. Enterprises and combines have drawn up their balance sheets and costs already on the basis of the Deutsche mark and of FRG tax law. This is the case in machine building, for instance.

Management and marketing training have yielded their first visible results in all branches as regards a change in the way of thinking. The enterprise managers who cannot face the new requirements and want to replace plan dirigism with methods of Manchester capitalism, have to live up to our legislative initiatives.

[Schwaldt] Do you not also see the danger of a monopolization of certain areas of the GDR economy as a result of the mergers of big combines and FRG groups of companies?

[Pohl] Yes, we see this danger, and so does the FRG economics minister, by the way. That is why we are urging so much the development of medium-sized enterprises. This is a very essential issue for the improvement of our economy and the focal issue of my work. To the extent to which we create jobs via medium-sized enterprises, which we found or which we take out of the current state-owned enterprises, we are countering monopolization. The basis for this, from the small enterprise to the 1,000-man company must be established in those places where to date there have only been big combines.

[Schwaldt] How will unemployment continue to develop?

[Pohl] Actually, I am very optimistic, even though at the moment everybody is pessimistic. The question which a ZDF [Second FRG Television Channel] reporter just asked me—whether the government will resign when we have one or more million unemployed—shows the great scepticism concerning the will of the GDR people, who stayed here to make something out of this country. Therefore, as the newly appointed economics minister, I

insist that the founding of new companies requires jobs. There will be temporary unemployment. I think that it will be far below the numbers which people always try to convince us of.

[Schwaldt] The GDR people are still being caused anxiety by wild speculations concerning the currency conversion. What is your view of the schemes for the introduction of the Deutsche mark?

[Pohl] I refer to the government statement in this respect. The basic principle is 1:1. We clearly outlined the spheres for this in the coalition paper and in parliament. All other statements are pure speculations. The way in which the Deutsche mark will be introduced will be the result of intra-German economic talks. In this respect, the GDR citizens may rely on the government statement.

[Schwaldt] When do you expect these talks to be concluded?

[Pohl] I hope that by the middle of June they will be concluded to such an extent that we can face the date envisaged for the monetary union without any difficulties. For the economic community I would like to set the signals far earlier via legislative measures.

[Schwaldt] On Tuesday [24 April] you will go to Moscow. Will the GDR withdraw from CEMA?

[Pohl] We will not perform such a formal act. We will first listen to the ideas of the other CEMA states, especially the Soviet Union. I think that the prospects of CEMA will certainly not be such that we shall be giving major substantial consideration to its expansion. Our aim is clearly to shape all laws in a manner compatible with the EC. It is necessary to observe attentively the internal state of the East European countries. Our contractual commitments are to be observed and even, where necessary, expanded, in the spirit of stabilizing Gorbachev's reform process.

[Schwaldt] What do you want to do with the 5,000 employees of your ministry?

[Pohl] This is a complicated question. Everyone who wants to participate in the restructuring and building of the economic system, will keep his place. Nevertheless, it is difficult to work with such an apparatus with many subordinate institutes and offices. Personnel changes are necessary because old instruments have become superfluous. Retraining processes may help. However, there are also a number of excellent experts, who could certainly head counselling offices or even become entrepreneurs themselves.

[Schwaldt] How long will the process of improving the GDR economy take?

[Pohl] This is a speculative question that I have been asked repeatedly. I think that we will have EC status by the end of 1992. We will be competitive in the EC. If we achieve this, it will be a proud achievement. The all-round improvement of our economy will take far longer—one just has to think of the environmental problems. Implementing a new energy concept will require at least 10 years.

[Schwaldt] In certain GDR newspapers there were a number of accusations that you did not fulfill your tasks as research director in the Forst Cloth Factory. How did these accusations, which seem to be very deliberate, come about? It seems that some eager writers are trying to read things in the coffee grounds.

[Pohl] The forces that marginalized me for years, for instance the former members of the enterprise and combine leadership of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] are trying to call into question my professional competence. Suddenly the decades of experience I have accumulated are supposed to be worthless. I face this with great calm.

Concerning the labor law dispute about my dismissal, I can only say that my lawyer has filed an application for canceling the decision of the Forst Labor Court. As soon as we have a supreme judge, I shall have the relevant events presented to him. I understand the excitement of these people in Forst very well.

[Schwaldt] Is it a fear of your former bosses to have a fired employee as economics minister?

[Pohl] I have close contacts with my colleagues in Forst. In this way I learned that the people who did not like my initiatives and my criticism now fear for their posts. Thus, they rallied for a counterattack. They quote me incorrectly. Obviously, this is the style of work now. Certain leftist forces are eagerly pursuing an unprecedented sensationalism. They are simply fanning opposition against those who wanted to get rid of the trash in the offices. Victims are turned into perpetrators.

If the origin and the effectiveness of 23 patents, in which I participated, is denied, then I have to point to the legally prescribed documents. The pioneering, innovative thinking in these teams of inventors was paid tribute with excellent reports and, in the end, with the GDR Design Prize. Now my reputation as an expert is to be ruined. The direction from which this comes is clearly determined by political motives.

Lower Lusatia Body Appeals Against Division

LD2504095490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0820 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Cottbus (ADN)—The Sorbian People's Assembly of Lower Lusatia has expressed its misgivings, in a statement of will, about the intended formation of the Land of Brandenburg. It notes that the Bezirk councils of Potsdam, Frankfurt (Oder) and Cottbus largely left out of their considerations the presence of the ethnic Sorbs

in Lower Lusatia. The body accepts without reservation the desire of the German people for unity, but expected that the politicians responsible for this at all levels would not admit the division of the Sorbian people, which would lead to the swift annihilation of the Sorbian language and culture in Lower Lusatia.

"We are in agreement with any variant in the formation of the land which considers the mixed-race area of Lower Lusatia as a territorial unit," the statement indicates. It demands that plans for breaking up the Lower Lusatia industrial area, not justifiable on economic grounds, be abandoned, and calls for an immediate end to the progressive destruction of German-Sorbian villages through mining. The Sorbian People's Assembly supports the concluding document of the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting, which the FRG and the GDR also signed on 15 January 1989. This made it binding for all necessary legal, administrative, judicial and other measures to be taken "to guarantee the protection of the human rights and basic freedoms of members of national minorities on their territory."

Joint Cultural Radio Station Planned

LD2504170190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1207 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Deutschlandfunk, Radio GDR 2, and Deutschlandsender are to produce a joint daily cultural channel Kultur D, which is to be broadcast via the Astra satellite to the future Germany and to Europe. The existing programs of the three stations are to remain unaffected by the 24-hour Kultur D channel. A corresponding draft agreement was signed in Berlin today. Kultur D is to be started up after the supervisory bodies of the radio institutes involved have approved the agreement.

Deutschlandfunk, which also operates the satellite channel, is to have legal responsibility for the new channel, which will not carry advertising. The stations is to supply six hours of programs each day and to produce the news for Kultur D. The remainder of the program is to be provided by the two GDR stations. Kultur D will broadcast all kinds of music, scientific programs, radio plays, radio documentaries, and topical reports from cultural life.

Exchange of Letters on Troop Withdrawals

AU2504110890 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 21 Apr 90 p 6

["Exchange of letters" between Major General Antal Annus, general deputy chief of staff of the Hungarian Army, and Colonel General Matvey Burlakov, commander of the Southern Soviet Army Group, 14 April and 20 April, respectively: "Exchange of Letters on Troop Withdrawal"]

[Text] To Major General Antal Annus, official of the Hungarian Government in charge of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary.

Esteemed Major General Annus!

I read with great interest your interview dealing with the problems in implementing the Soviet-Hungarian intergovernmental agreement on the full withdrawal of Soviet troops from the territory of the Hungarian Republic.

I highly appreciate your competence and your endeavor to deeply understand the problems for which we—together with you, as representatives of our governments—have direct responsibility. Undoubtedly, the agreement signed between the governments of the Soviet Union and the Hungarian Republic regulating the issues of temporary deployment and full withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary represents the legal basis of reaching this goal. I think that the reevaluation or free interpretation of the aforementioned agreements exceed the framework of our mandate.

In connection with this, I find it somehow impossible to understand your intention to revise several articles of the agreement signed on 1 April 1958. This primarily refers to the article according to which the expenditures of the Soviet troops on restoring, renovating, and maintaining the installations that they have been leasing represent the leasing fees for the use of these installations.

Naturally, you are aware of the fact that the Soviet side spent more than 1 billion forints annually on this alone. In addition, we made considerable investments in past years for improving the comfort level of more than 50 percent of the building that we have been leasing, including switching to central heating and supplying hot water. At the same time, we refurbished the housing that we have been leasing in accordance with the Hungarian norms, and all the new buildings were built in accordance with the standards of modern civic design. More than 70 percent of the new buildings and installations were built by the Kozber and other building enterprises on the basis of Hungarian plans, by making use of Soviet resources. Therefore, your conclusion according to which "more than half of the housing buildings do not qualify as apartments" is slightly distorting the reality.

In your interview, you mentioned some construction carried out "illegally." As a professional soldier, you must know that some installations are special and no civilian bodies are involved in setting them up. We coordinated such construction with the competent Hungarian bodies, primarily the Defense Ministry. The fate of these installations is decided individually, on the basis of bilateral agreements.

You are right in describing our position on the expenses incurred in the buildings and installations which we are handing over. We would indeed prefer to settle the bill while leaving the barracks, rather than following the entire pullout. We prefer this in view of our existing experience. Now, one year after leaving these barracks and handing them over to the Hungarian side, a claim has been set up concerning deliberately allowing the deterioration of these buildings, and, in order to discredit us, photographs and other materials are regularly published in the press. The question arises: What happens when we leave every barrack which, as one responsible head of the Hungarian Defense Ministry put it, nobody will even guard any more. This confirms our concept that we will have to settle the bill immediately after leaving these installations and after preparing the necessary documents.

I also want to mention the problem you put forward concerning the supply of catering services to the Soviet troops. You are well aware of the fact that a certain amount of this service is supplied from the Soviet Union. For the food industry products purchased in Hungary, we will pay according to Article No. 5 of the agreement signed between Soviet and Hungarian foreign trade organizations on 1 April 1958.

The Southern Army Group is carrying out all its commercial transactions in accordance with the Hungarian laws in force. We pay for these transactions from the budget of the Soviet Defense Ministry and in the framework of bilateral foreign trade transactions. Talking about the supplies provided for the Soviet troops, I consider it my duty to remind you of the considerable difference in prices prevailing for some time to the benefit of the Hungarian side in connection with a series of exports from the Soviet Union, like electric power, mineral oil products, and rolled metal articles which, according to experts, guarantee an annual profit of some $1.5 billion for the Hungarian side, and this naturally covers the entire expenditure coming from the state budget of the Hungarian Republic. As for compensations deriving from public road accidents, we will settle this entirely on the basis of the decisions of the mixed Soviet-Hungarian committee.

Several articles have recently been published in the Hungarian press aimed at presenting the Soviet troops in a light that would create antipathy toward them, and the authors do not hide this intention. Obviously, you agree that this unilateral supply of information does not create normal conditions for implementing the troop withdrawal tasks. Given your high rank and your adequate authority, you are able to influence the mass media to present the presence and withdrawal of Soviet troops in Hungary in an objective way and to refrain from

destroying the friendly relations that have developed between the soldiers of the Southern Army and the Hungarian population over the course of the many years, relations for which you also did a lot personally. This would be in harmony with the spirit and letter of the Soviet-Hungarian intergovernmental agreement signed on 10 March 1990, and with this, you would also considerably contribute to the implementation of the articles in this agreement.

I think that today, as we celebrate the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the people of Europe—including the Hungarian people—from fascist occupation, this approach is particularly important. We can hardly agree with the declaration in your interview according to which the liberation mission of the Soviet troops is described as occupation. I think this is not the best way to show due respect to the 140,000 Soviet soldiers who lost their lives in the struggle for the freedom and independence of your beautiful country.

Given the fact that your interview was published in the central Hungarian press and it was widely commented in other publications as well, I decided to make use of my right to publish an open letter addressed to you.

14 April 1990.

With respect, Matvey Burlakov, commander of the Southern Army Group and official of the Government of the Soviet Union in charge of the presence and withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary.

To Colonel General Matvey Burlakov, commander of the Southern Army Group.

Esteemed Mr. General!

Although I have repeatedly declared that the details of the Soviet troops withdrawal and its controversial problems should not be solved through a press debate—and I do not oppose the press publicity with this—I nevertheless answer your letter in an open letter now. I am doing this because you addressed a letter to me and sent a copy of this letter to several newspapers.

In the task I was given by the Hungarian Government, my goal has been and continues to be to avoid accusing you of anything or letting my emotions determine my work. Whether they work in the Army or in another field, both my staff and I represent the Hungarian interests. I consider this to be natural because, as Hungarians, we must represent the interests of the Hungarian Republic. I expressed all this during our official meeting on 2 April 1990, and I experienced your full understanding in this respect.

I am sure that Hungary will make it into Europe and will become a full member of our continent by endeavoring to have the best possible relations with every country in Europe, and particularly with our neighbors, and by shaping these relations with new elements where necessary. Shaping good-neighborly relations between your country and Hungary and reproducing the previous relations in accordance with the interests of the two peoples is part of this goal. This is what directs me in all my declarations and work, and therefore, I cannot disregard certain burdens that appear in our relations, irrespective of whether we have already talked about them or we kept silent about them.

I ask you, Mr. General, as a highly authoritative Soviet military leader, to understand all I described so far and to treat with adequate patience and understanding the fact that Hungary also has interests in connection with the Soviet troop withdrawal, interests that it naturally wants to assert. In my view, the other side cannot be expected to be tolerant with my own position if I myself do not do the same toward his position. Therefore, and starting from this premise, I propose to evaluate each other's opinions and interests with adequate patience, as I have stated during our previous meetings, and to seek the solution during all our future meetings. I am sure we will find solutions, but if this does not happen, government bodies which have greater and more adequate authority, or the two governments themselves will settle the controversial issues. I ask you to carry out your government commissioner activity in this spirit, although I am convinced that one needs neither to ask you nor remind you of this. In my view, the most important thing is that we should continue the implementation of the Hungarian-Soviet agreement in spite of the still existing various economic and financial differences of views, and I am convinced this activity will continue, and the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from the Hungarian territory should continue in accordance with the agreement signed by the foreign ministers of the two countries and according to the schedule stipulated in the appendix to the agreement. I am confident that, in the course of this withdrawal, we will come to mutually acceptable, wise and professional decisions on every issue.

Esteemed Mr. General!

One of the most offensive parts of your letter is for me the fact that you accuse me of allegedly questioning your historical deed in achieving victory over fascism or underestimating the sacrifice, human stand, and military performance of those who participated in this victory. You are greatly mistaken. At the end of my letter, I make use of this opportunity to pay my respects to the allies fighting against fascism, including the Soviet Army, the Soviet soldiers, and all those who did anything for this victory.

I am convinced that, in the course of our meetings commencing next week, based on the negotiations held so far by our experts, we will formulate adequate decisions which will bring a solution to the existing differences of views by serving the interests of both peoples and by also taking into consideration the conditions deriving from the new political situation currently taking shape in Europe.

In conclusion, I ask you, esteemed Mr. General, to send a copy of my letter—which naturally I addressed to you in original—to all those Hungarian or foreign newspapers where you had sent your letter. I ask this because I do not know which newspapers received a copy of your letter.

Budapest, 20 April 1990.

With respect,

Major General Antal Annus, general deputy chief of staff of the Hungarian Army and official of the government of the Hungarian Republic in charge of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary.

Military Land Targeted for Civilian Use

LD2504150890 Budapest MTI in English 1105 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 25 (MTI)—The Hungarian Ministry of Defence is planning to renounce the management right of a total of 23 shooting-ranges and 53 drill-grounds. The process will take about 18 months to complete, starting from the second part of the year and lasting until the end of 1991, MTI was told by the Colonel Gyorgy Keleti, spokesman of the department.

In line with Hungarian armed forces reform, arms reductions and with the withdrawal of Soviet troops, the Ministry of Defence surveyed the situation of the military grounds used by the Hungarian Army and the Soviet Southern Army Group. With a view to possible civilian utilisation, related consultations were also held with officials of the ministries of environment protection and water management, and the agriculture and food.

The Hungarian Ministry of Defence is endeavouring to retain only those grounds which are essential for the military training. Over 20,000 hectares of land are expected to be returned to agriculture, and a number of justified noise related complaints by citizens can be overcome, as a result of the envisaged handing over.

Locations involved in the scheme include the vicinity of Kecskemet, Kunszentmiklos, Vertesszolos and Baj. The ministry also plans to return to full civilian use the areas as they are vacated by withdrawing Soviet troops. These locations involve the national parks of Hortobagy and Kiskunsag (East Hungary) and military grounds located in nature reserve areas near the towns of Nagykanizsa, Tata, Eszteregom and Pakozd.

HDF Economic Spokesman on EC Membership

LD2504094690 Budapest MTI in English 0748 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 25, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Despite the EC's reluctance, Mr. Istvan Bethlen, economic spokesman for the Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF], senior partner in the new coalition government to be formed probably in May, is confident that Hungary has a realistic chance of becoming a full member of the European Communities within a reasonable period of time, say between 1992 and 1995.

Mr. Bethlen expressed the conviction that provided there is a stable political system in Hungary, and appropriate assistance comes from the West, Hungary will become sufficiently prosperous over the next few years for it to catch up economically with several of the countries of the EC.

Mr. Bethlen believes it is also in the interest of the EC to have Hungary as a member since it can use Hungary as a springboard to other East European markets and the Soviet Union. In addition Hungary is an attractive market in its own right and offers good investment opportunities to Western companies, he said.

As to the political implications of Hungary's EC membership, Istvan Bethlen pointed to the acknowledgement by West European governments and the EC leadership of Hungary's pioneering role in the changes in central and Eastern Europe and to their promises of substantial economic and political assistance. Hungary, he says, has kept its side of the bargain and now it is time for the promises to be fulfilled, by, for example, the EC treating Hungary's request for membership favourably.

Party Officials on Coalition Government

AU2504113990 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 21 Apr 90 pp 1, 4

[Report on interview with leading representatives of the six parliamentary parties by Tibor J. Keri and Andras Sereg; place and date not given: "100 Days of Solitude?"]

[Text] The National Assembly is due to hold its founding session in 11 days. As is well known, the new premier will be charged with forming a government at the National Assembly session to be held on 2 and 3 May. No doubt, the cabinet expected to be formed by mid-May will be facing hard tasks, and it will certainly need a lot of political tolerance and patience, which a new government receives in almost every bourgeois democracy in the first 100 days of its activity. We asked the following leading officials and parliamentary faction heads of the six parliamentary parties about the decisions and measures they expect in this initial stage in the activity of the coalition government, and personally, what kind of "school report" would they like to give on day 101?

[Jozsef Antal] chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]:

In our view, the most urgent task is to assess Hungary's real situation. Then, to sum up the major draft bills, and to draw up the most urgent economic policy measures that could halt our deterioration and could provide a basis for further activity. Of course, we are also facing topical tasks, like the possible issue of constitutional

modification and the preparation of local authority elections. I do not think that we will have to distribute reports after 100 days, but we hope we will be able to give an optimistic summary of this period.

[Peter Tolgyessy] faction head of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ]:

The SZDSZ promises to be a responsible opposition party and to refrain from opposing the government if the government makes good decisions, not only for the period of the coming 100 days, but also for the entire parliamentary period. Thus, we will oppose the government steps only if we think that its concepts and measures are not in harmony with the interests of our nation. As for what can we achieve in the current situation within 100 days? We can hardly achieve a great economic change and prosperity. However, in my view, even 100 days seem to be enough to eliminate the remnants of the party state and to prepare plans that might later lead to considerable progress.

[Jozsef Torgyan] faction head of the Smallholders Party:

First of all, we need a government that enjoys the confidence of the population, and a government program supported by all the parties. Without this, it is impossible to lead the country out of the current catastrophic situation. In my view, conditions exist for a good program because an extremely careful coalition preparation is currently under way, and suitable experts are also available for this task. It is another matter whether all the parties will behave in a constructive way during these 100 days. This is an essential condition for a successful government. We regard it as extremely important that the new Parliament should create the regulations needed for its activity, as well as the new land and self-management laws, as soon as possible. The latter is essential to carry out change in the regime in the areas too. In practice, the first 100 days are only enough for this much. Naturally, in this period, we have to carry out a fire-extinguishing work in the economy, making sure that we do not endanger the tolerance of our society. We must take social policy measures in order to avoid a "breakdown." Obviously, these measures will further burden the budget balance, which is unfavorable as it is, and this might try the patience of the World Bank or our Western creditors....

[Imre Pozsgay] faction head of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP]:

The precondition of having patience is that the government should submit a program that gives cause for patience. I hope that, being aware of the problems facing Hungary, the coalition government currently being formed will come up with an adequate program. If this program contains points that recognize the interests of our nation, we will provide that patience and even the support for the government activity. This program should primarily deal with preserving the ability of our economy to function, preserving our solvency, preserving the budget balance, and respecting the current year's budget stipulated by the law, as well as preserving the ability of state apparatus to function and create the new institutions accordingly. If this is the case, patience will be provided for this period. However, all this does not mean that we will give up our own political image, our program, or our identity. I think the new government will also have to take into account the tolerance of our society. In the first 100 days, the creation of a new economic structure will be the test of this tolerance. Creation of legal conditions necessary for the activity of self-government bodies is similarly important. All these tasks require a large degree of consensus and readiness for cooperation. In the event of genuine and adequate legislation, we will be patient and will provide the necessary support. We care for Hungary's prosperity, and therefore, we would like to see an excellent report received by the government about these 100 days.

[Viktor Orban] Presidium representative of the Alliance of Young Democrats [FIDESZ]:

It is questionable whether there will be 100 patient days. It is a fact that, in normal democracies, governments generally receive this trial period. We can show such largeness only if the government program comes up at least with the possibility to preserve the ability of our economy to function. If we see that there are no such possibilities, there will be no 100 days of patience! However, we hope the new government and its program will deserve our patience. We consider the preservation of Hungary's solvency to be the most important task. However, the government should refrain from measures which could lead to strikes and massive dissatisfaction. The government should not constrain the population to an extent in which social dissatisfaction could lead to a social explosion. Therefore, the new government will have to balance on a very narrow "board-walk." However, the economy must be managed and resources must be found for its activity, but we lack basic information about the real situation. For example, even the government lacks exact information about the real situation of the enterprises and about their "standing in line."

[Tibor Fuzessy] deputy chairman of the Smallholders Party:

I regard it as most urgent to carry out the measures that have been interrupted and which the previous government also initiated, like legislation on the legal status and remuneration of parliamentary deputies. Although I am aware that this is not the most urgent task for the country today, this is nevertheless essential for the activity of Parliament. In addition, I also regard it as important to take economic measures, first of all, to modify the land law and halt the alienation of land ownership, particularly the sale of land abroad. The government should also regulate the dismantling of old forms of ownership which is now being carried out in a rather spontaneous and "unhealthy" way. The government should modify a lot of constitutional laws, and this will not be an easy task, because the so-called small coalition will not have a two-third majority. Therefore, we will have to win either

the HSP or the SZDSZ over in order to achieve our goals. Summing it all up, the coming 100 days will be extremely difficult. However, I have confidence in the government and that we will "survive" not only because of the 100-day moratorium. I also have confidence that we will not depend on others' mercy....

State Minister Pozsgay on HSP's Future

AU2504140490 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 24 Apr 90 pp 1,5

[Report on interview with State Minister Imre Pozsgay by Janos Czingraber in Papa on 23 April: "Forward to Democracy?—Imre Pozsgay on the Possibilities of the HSP's Internal Development"]

[Text] Imre Pozsgay visited Papa on 23 April. His program included a discussion with the former parliamentary candidate of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] and with the HSP local leaders, followed by an active meeting. Imre Pozsgay then met with agricultural experts in the area. We interviewed him in the break of his program.

[Czingraber] Following the internal development of the HSP, the only leftist party which is still standing, many people feel that its transformation into a social democratic party is imminent. In your opinion, is this trend real?

[Pozsgay] I think that the party program adopted in October already combined the socialist and social democratic values. I refer to the fact that we have focused on a compromise solution to the contradiction between capital and work, rather than on class struggle. I find it similarly important that the HSP continues to feel solidarity with those who are lagging behind, cares for the manual workers, but it definitely wants to be a party of all the nation, with a government program, in the spirit of dealing with vital issues facing the nation.

[Czingraber] Is it possible that the HSP will formally become a social democratic party?

[Pozsgay] There will be a thorough party debate on this issue perhaps as early as this week. Personally, I am convinced that the future of our party lies in the coexistence of the two trends—the Latin socialist trend and German social democracy. I hope that most of our members will adopt this program.

[Czingraber] Is it possible that this debate will be another tearing test for the HSP?

[Pozsgay] I think that the election preparation was the tearing test, and now, the addition of the social democratic trend is able to guarantee the survival of the party. Naturally, the upcoming congress could lead to a division anyway: Those who are unable to advance on this road together with us might lag behind, perhaps moving toward fundamentalism.

[Czingraber] Have you offered cooperation to the Social Democratic Party for such a development?

[Pozsgay] The Independent Social Democratic Party shows some interest. In the wake of its election failure, the Hungarian Social Democratic Party exists only in its leadership for the time being, and the division is too strong there.

[Czingraber] Nowadays, there are a lot of rumors in connection with the emergence of new political forces: One of these rumors has it that you and Miklos Nemeth are preparing to found a new party. What is the truth of all this?

[Pozsgay] I cannot speak on behalf of Miklos Nemeth; all I know about him is that he wants to engage in politics as an independent parliamentary deputy, and I did not hear of any intention to change his party affiliation. As for myself, I was elected as head of the HSP parliamentary faction, and I would not have accepted this extremely honorable task if I were engaged in creating a new party. I would like to use my experiences as a responsible and constructive opposition party politician, which means that we do not want to bicker with the government, but we try to give all our help within the framework of our supervisory function, in order to manage the current crises and to create stability in Hungary. We are also preparing for an initiative role, and not only for a reacting role.

[Czingraber] According to other rumors, Gyula Horn will become the HSP chairman, instead of Rezso Nyers who will retire. What do you know about this?

[Pozsgay] All I know about this is that Gyula Horn is an eminent and recognized politician with a lot of experience, and he has to receive a role adequate to his qualifications. Naturally, the congress has the authority to make a concrete decision.

[Czingraber] According to many signs, the reform wing of the HSP will force out of the party leadership those who joined the people's democratic platform at the party congress held in the fall of last year. Is this your opinion too?

[Pozsgay] I think that the various platforms fulfilled their mission by that congress, and now they are no longer needed. In the future, we will have to seek answers to different questions. First of all, we will have to find answers to a question I have already mentioned; namely, whether it is possible to create the coexistence of socialist and social democratic trends.

[Czingraber] In conclusion, let me ask you a personal question. The elimination of the People's Patriotic Front [PPF] is on the agenda today. How do you react to this, as one who made out of the PPF a lively and reform-oriented organization?

[Pozsgay] I find this painful and difficult to accept. Unfortunately, I must say that the activity of the PPF in the past one and a half years justifies its elimination.

Political development could also have brought this change, but I think that a bad strategy greatly accelerated this process. Unfortunate nominations, coalition blunders, the depressive atmosphere of its congress, and the damage incurred to the left wing movement, all these led to this. I am honestly sorry for this.

MSZDP Against Closer Ties With TU's

LD2504221790 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] The intention of strengthening the cooperation with the trade unions was expressed only by a small fraction of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party [MSZDP] at the time, and not on behalf of the entire party. This is what transpired from the friendly meeting which was organized by the leaders of the party. Journalists were invited with the intention of establishing a new kind of relation with the press.

Anna Petrasovits, chairwoman, conveyed the unanimous opinion formulated at the Saturday board meeting, according to which, it was a fatal political error and serious mistake to approach the branch trade unions. Therefore, relations with them are suspended at the moment. However, they support every democratic organization, workers councils, independent organizations, which carry the seed of a trade union movement building itself from below and which accept the traditional values of social democracy.

The reason for the 180 degree turn, which took place within a few months, is that because of the connection established with the traditional trade unions, they lost the trust of the other democratic opposition parties, while via the leaders of the central and workplace trade unions they did not find the way to the workers. After a severe self-examination, they exercised self-critisism. Instead of making other people responsible, they analyzed their own mistakes, which brought the election defeat on themselves. At last, they published their comprehensive political and economic program and announced: The stormy one year history of the MSZDP has finished with this. A new chapter is beginning with new methods and in new style.

SDPH Leader Gives News Conference

LD2504225990 Budapest MTI in English 2011 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 25 (MTI)—The intention of the trade union group of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary (SDPH) to intensify the relation between the Social Democrats and the successor organizations of the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions (SZOT) differs from the party's official trade union policy, said party president Anna Petrasovits on behalf of the SDPH leadership, at a press conference on Wednesday.

The reply of the party leadership to this initiative is that it invariably considers as valid the resolution of the board passed on Saturday. According to which they are suspending relations with the sectoral trade unions that earlier belonged to SZOT, and which today belong to the Trade Union Federation, Ms Petrasovits said.

Several SDPH leaders also elaborated on the issue. In their view, it was a grave political error to establish relations with the sectoral trade unions. They see the main reason of their election fiasco in this erroneous trade union policy. (The SDPH did not receive 4 per cent of the votes in the first round of the elections, and thus was unable to secure seats in parliament.)

The Social Democrats have not broken with the whole of the trade union movement, they stress, as they support the trade unions and Workers' Councils set up through the self-organization of workers.

Ms Petrasovits also said there are more reasons against holding a special SDPH congress, than for it. Positive processes have now begun, and it is unnecessary to disturb the life of the party, she said.

It was also heard that of the parliamentary parties, the SDPH holds cooperation conceivable with the Alliance of Free Democrats and the Federation of Young Democrats, on the basis that all three parties have placed human rights and civic liberties on their banner.

Independent Smallholders Postpone Board Meeting

LD2504225190 Budapest MTI in English 2030 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 25 (MTI)—The Political Committee of the Independent Smallholders' Party (ISP) decided at its meeting on Wednesday to postpone the session of the board, originally scheduled for April 28-29, to August 20, it was reported at a press conference on Wednesday.

Leading officials of the party said there were several reasons for the postponement, one of the most important of these is that they do not believe that the possibility of a lawful conference of the board exists, as the nomination and election of the body earlier took place by violating the party's constitution, and in an unlawful manner. In several counties, several local organizations submitted written protests in the matter. The Political Committee discussed these, and held the complaints just.

The Political Committee stated: The overly high expectations for the elections were not proven true, the results

gave rise to disappointment. Certain irresponsible party members created a tense and heated atmosphere in the past period. The above would not make it possible to successfully hold the session of the board.

It was also reported that the leadership of the party clearly sees that the Independent Smallholders' Party will have a major responsibility, on the basis of the Parliamentary election results, in the formation of the new government, and in the country's current difficult situation. And internal party interests cannot endanger this.

MTI Kills Item on Land Ownership Coalition

LD2504030290

The following pertains to the item headlined "Coalition Partners Agree on Land Ownership," published in the 25 April East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 43, column one:

Budapest MTI in English at 1920 GMT on 23 April transmits a service message killing the referent item. The message says: "Please kill today's item 'Coalition Partners Agree on Land Ownership,' which implies false figures."

Further Reportage on Solidarity Congress Session

Walesa Makes Concluding Speech

LD2504102490

[Editorial Report] Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 0555 GMT on 25 April broadcasts a 13-minute live relay of the end of the Solidarity Congress in Gdansk. After a brief reporter's introduction, reiterating the final day's decisions, Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa makes a seven and a half minute concluding speech. Walesa briefly examines the Congress' achievements, pointing out that while not all problems were solved over the past few days, experience will bring its own program and solutions. He praises the high political culture of the proceedings, which point to a good democratic model, asserting that even where attempts at manipulation occurred, this all formed part of democracy. He emphasizes that above all, Solidarity has to be truly united and organized. Solidarity will manage to tackle and cope with the greatest problems.

After Walesa's speech, Solidarity delegates take a collective oath reiterating their attachment to Solidarity, the Polish nation, human rights, and working people. The national anthem is sung, and Solidarity banners are ceremonially taken out of the Congress Hall. The relay finishes at 0608 GMT.

Resolutions on Aims Passed

LD2504213890 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] In the program resolution of the Second Solidarity Congress we read among other things that the basic aim of the union is to defend the rights, dignity, and interests of workers. The union will participate in the creation and defense of the democratic system in Poland. It will not create a political party, but does not preclude the creation of its own trade union representation in parliament and in territorial self-management bodies. Solidarity will negotiate the conditions for redundancies from work and will undertake efforts to create new work places. The union opposes the drastic reduction of the real value of wages. The level of minimum wages should be dependent on the social minimum and be negotiated by the national commission. The union will also demand the development of a housing construction program, together with the appropriate system of credits and aid in housing payments for families in need. The union statute has had deleted from it the appendix accepted at the roundtable limiting the rights of trade unions, including the right to strike. New provisions have been introduced. Trade union functions in Solidarity will not be able to be combined with a leading post in the state and local government administration, nor with a leading function in political organizations.

The congress also passed a resolution on territorial self-management elections, appealing to society for active participation. The name and logo of Solidarity constitute the sole property of the union and are subject to legal protection.

SdRP Welcomes Walesa Reelection

LD2504230990 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SdRP] has 50,000 members already. The party will act without certain organizational structures, Aleksander Kwasniewski, chairman of the SdRP Supreme Council, has announced. The SdRP supports earlier parliamentary elections, even in the fall, and then the general election of the president. It wishes to retain the TRYBUNA daily, one weekly, one monthly or quarterly, and a number of regional papers—everything on the basis of self-financing.

The leader of the SdRP has welcomed with satisfaction Lech Walesa's reelection to the post of Solidarity chairman and has revealed that he intends to write a book entitled "Around the Roundtable in 60 Days" in which he would like to draw on behind-the-scenes deliberations both in Magdalenka as well as at the roundtable.

Sajudis Greets Solidarity Congress

AU2404135890 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 23 Apr 90 p 1

[Greetings message from the second congress of the "Sajudis" Lithuanian freedom movement to the second congress of "Solidarity" issued in Vilnius on 21 April]

[Text] Dear colleagues! It is truly symbolic that we, charged with implementing the rebirth and freedom of our countries, Poland and Lithuania, are holding our second congresses at the same time, despite the age difference between us. We warmly greet you on this great path and express our sincere gratitude for your wonderful gesture of support during this decisive period for Lithuania. We hope that we are united by one God and a noble and painful past. We trust that, in the words of the poet, "we are all brothers beneath the same blossoming cherry tree" for the sake of a free future for our people and for the sake of peace and harmony in old Europe and in the world, now and forever. For your freedom and ours!

With fraternal regards, the second congress of the Sajudis Lithuanian movement, Vilnius, 21 April 1990, 1830 hours.

Council of Ministers Hears Report on Economy

LD2404005990 Warsaw PAP in English 2320 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 23—The Council of Ministers, debating today under chairmanship of Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, heard a report on economic processes in the first quarter of this year.

Condition of Economy

The general goals of the stabilization programme are being fulfilled while the hyperinflation has been curbed and the economy has reached equilibrium. The economy is seeing supplies overrun demand.

The incomes and expenditures of the central budget have been balanced, the currency market has reached equilibrium while currencies rates have remained stable. At the same time, populations real incomes have clearly gone down causing a big drop in demand and considerable fall of production sold.

To counteract the threats, intensive work is carried out to speed up the privatization processes, make the anti-monopolistic moves more effective, coordinate and better use the foreign assistance, mainly as concerns credits. Legal regulations are being worked out to open a market of stocks.

Foreign Assistance

The Cabinet noticed with satisfaction the appearing of new forms of foreign economic and financial assistance.

An inter-ministerial commission headed by Vice-Premier Leszek Balcerowicz will deal with problems connected with the best using of foreign credits and investments.

World Bank Loan

The Council of Ministers accepted the course of negotiations with the World Bank on the letter on the development policy. The document provides the basis for Polish government's motion of granting a structural adjustments loan. The negotiations will continue the coming May.

The Cabinet passed a resolution on taking up a credit from the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development to finance the first transport project. The 145-million dollar credit will be given to the state railway enterprise PKP while 4.75 million dollars will be given to the general management of the public roads and to the Ministry of Transport and Maritime Economy.

Adopts Draft Telecommunications Bill

LD2404163190 Warsaw PAP in English
0838 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 24—The Council of Ministers which ended its debates late in the evening yesterday adopted a draft amendment law on communications.

The proposed amendment will provide legal conditions to intensify development of wire and wireless communications. It is planned to depart from the rule of the state's exclusiveness for postal services, telecommunications, radio and television broadcasting.

According to the draft it will be possible to take up activity in the sphere of radio and television provided a wave frequency is obtained and programme formula accepted.

The minister of communications is to take decisions on such issues in consultation with the minister of culture and art.

The Council of Ministers adopted a correction to its draft law on amending the civil code. It will provide the legal framework for restoration of limited partnership companies.

Such a company permits to limit the risk of the company's activity in relation to some partners. It relates mainly to companies which organize cooperation between the large economic organizations and units carrying on economic activity on a small scale, inventors or other originators in particular.

Finance Minister Holds News Conference

LD2304200890 Warsaw PAP in English
1654 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Text] Gdansk, April 23—"You have gained something exceptional, consensus in the emotional sphere as goes for curbing inflation and winning social support for this goal but now there is a more difficult matter: You must gain consensus on the level of reason," stated one of the journalists addressing Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz during a press conference held following his meeting with delegates to the 2nd congress of Solidarnosc today.

Balcerowicz stated in part: "I imagine cooperation between the union and the government as harmonious, in which the government side by its virtue looks on the economy as a whole. I would like to express not only a hope but also a conviction that in the future the trade union side will endorse a model of a trade union which does not limit itself to the defence of narrowly and sometimes wrongly understood employee interests and will participate in the construction of market economy institutions, that it will also create institutions which are aimed at decreasing the inevitable pains of a market economy, for instance unemployment."

"We were able to negotiate a significant postponement of foreign debt servicing with government creditors which account for three quarters of Polish debt. We are in the midst of negotiations with banks aimed at achieving no less. Also at issue is negotiating debt reductions."

OPZZ: No Confidence in Construction Minister

LD2504230290 Warsaw PAP in English
2145 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 25—The Executive Committee of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions OPZZ

announced its vote of no confidence to Construction Minister Aleksander Paszynski here today.

The committee voted to turn to the prime minister to recall the head of the Ministry of Country Planning and Construction from his post.

Minister Paszynski, present at the meeting, explained that after nine months of the introduction of the free market in Poland, the construction branch is in good shape. The minister also said that 153 thousand flats [apartments] are being built in form of apartment buildings and about 300 thousand—as individual houses, adding that about 10 trillion zloties are needed to complete those works, and additional 18 trillion zloties to meet all construction- related works.

State and local budgets are able to cover only one-third of that sum, among other things, due to the growing costs caused by inflation. Thus the struggle for a strong zloty is, in the opinion of the minister, a superior issue. However, the result of the vote showed that the unionists did not share the minister's opinion.

Opinion Poll on Local Election Voting Trends

AU2504110790 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Apr 90 p 3

['W.K.'-signed report: "The Public Opinion Research Center on Local Elections—60 Percent Say 'Most Probably'"]

[Text] In answer to the Public Opinion Research Center [OBOP] question—Do you intend to take part in the upcoming local elections?—some 60 percent of those polled replied that they probably would. In February 1990, some 63 percent of those polled replied "probably yes" to a similar question. At that time, however, the date and final provisions of the local government electoral law were still unknown.

The intention to take part in the election varies widely from social group to group. There are more older, than younger, people who intend to vote. There is a clear split into four groups. Among the young (to 24 years), 41 percent declare their intention to take part; in the 25 to 39 age group it is 51 percent; in the 40 to 59 age group it is 64 percent; and in the over 60 age group it is 71 percent.

The higher the educational qualification, the higher the percentage of those wanting to vote. Among those with a basic education it is 53 percent; among those with a basic trade qualification it is 55 percent; among those with secondary education it is 63 percent; and among those with a higher education qualification it is 71 percent.

Of those polled, the following percentages replied they would be voting for the following parties or groupings: 42 percent for the Citizens Committee, or the Citizens Committee "Solidarity," or simply "Solidarity," (also, for example, for Lech Walesa, as well as other descriptions which leave no doubt as to which political option is meant); some 33 percent were still undecided; seven percent replied "depends on the program," or "for people that I know," or "depends on the candidate;" seven percent for the peasant party groupings such as the Polish Peasant Party, the Polish Peasant Party—"Solidarity," "the Peasant Party [name of party as published]," "the Agricultural Party," and "the Peoples Party;" two percent for the post-Polish United Workers Party descendants (the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic and the Polish Social Democratic Union; two percent for the Democratic Party [SD]; one percent the Green Party and the ecology movement; and 1 percent for the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN].

Those who were undecided were asked a supplementary question: If they decide to vote, who would they vote for? In the cities the largest percentage, namely, 17 percent, said they would vote for the citizens committee. In the villages the proportions that opted for the citizens committee or one of the peasant parties was almost equal, namely, 14 and 13 percent.

The Public Opinion Research Main Center [CBOS] gives more optimistic figures on the declared frequency in the upcoming local elections. The CBOS figures show that 72 percent of all adult Poles have stated their intention to take part in the local elections.

Privatization Poll Findings Outlined

AU2504220690 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 20 Apr 90 p 3

[Piotr Pacewicz report: "Privatization: Yes, Yes, No, No"]

[Text] According to the results of an April poll conducted by the Public Opinion Research Main Center, Poles generally view the idea of privatization positively. Two-thirds believe that privatization is necessary in order to improve efficiency in the economy, and only somewhat fewer believe that it will contribute to closing the previous political era and to an improvement in the standard of living for the majority of citizens. Two-thirds agreed with the view that "there is no enterprise that would not operate better in private hands than under state management."

The attitude toward privatization does not, as one may think, stem from a definite rejection of the communist system in the economy because as many as 58 percent of respondents believed that: "It would be possible to do without privatization if enterprises employed the right directors." A majority also maintains that the state director cares more about his employees than the private owner.

Almost two-fifths of those polled thought that the government was proceeding toward privatization with sufficient speed, but a third thought that it was doing so too slowly.

Barely one half of the respondents thought that the idea of privatization had already been settled. Three-quarters felt that the way in which privatization is to be carried out is still an open matter.

Which enterprises did respondents think will (should) be privatized first? It is true that 58 percent maintained that it should be those "that can guarantee their owners that money will be used properly," but as many as 70 percent said: "those that the state will want to get rid off as quickly as possible," 75 percent said: "those that are in financial difficulties, and 59 percent said: "those that have incompetent managers." Only 37 percent thought that: "enterprises that are managed well and dynamically and whose development is checked by state supervision" will be privatized. As we can see, the prevailing view is that the state will get rid of lame ducks.

So, a yes was given to privatization, but who did respondents want to see owning their workplaces? The answers given to the question provided quite a sensational picture. Respondents did not want: foreign businessmen or foreign companies (59 percent—no, 26 percent—yes); a Polish businessman (56 percent—no, 28 percent yes); even joint state-private companies (53 percent—no, 28 percent—yes); and private shareholders who buy shares available to all (55 percent—no, 25 percent—yes).

The only accepted model of ownership was "employee majority share ownership" (56 percent—yes, 29 percent—no).

Only five percent thought that turning enterprises into "stock companies" was an "excellent idea;" 35 percent thought it was "not at all bad;" 19 percent thought it "rather unnecessary;" and 11 percent thought it was "completely inappropriate." The remainder did not know.

Asked if they would buy shares in their own enterprises, 57 percent said no.

How would a private owner behave? Respondents said that he would behave ruthlessly (93 percent believed that he would lay off people who are not needed; 76 percent—he would try to squeeze out as much profit as possible; 73 percent—he would try to curb all expenditures that are not directly related to production; 58 percent—he would seek to eliminate trade unions), but the enterprise would become more efficient (95 percent believed that he would eliminate all forms of inefficiency; 70 percent—he would invest as much as possible in the expansion of the enterprise; 93 percent—he would only employ people who are competent; and 77 percent—he would change all the directors).

At the same time, as many as three-quarters of the respondents believed that their wages would rise, although 59 percent thought that the risk of being laid off would increase.

Liquidation Commission Spokesman on RSW

AU2504185890 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 20 Apr 90 p 1

[Anna Bikont report: "TRYBUNA Without A Publisher"]

[Text] The publisher that publishes TRYBUNA (print run in March 226,000; beginning of April, 174,000), CHLOPSKA DROGE, and several other regional papers in the Warsaw voivodship is being shut down—stated Andrzej Notkowski, press spokesman for the Liquidation Commission of the Workers Publishing Cooperative [RSW]. The decision had already been made by the Main Board of the RSW and was subsequently approved by the commission at its 19 April meeting.

The fate of TRYBUNA will now be decided at ministerial level (the premier favors the paper's continuing existence). The most likely outcome is that the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SdRP] will take over the paper, but it is not clear whether the SdRP will have to take over all the paper's financial liabilities. Let us not forget that the publisher's deficit in 1989 was 8 billion zlotys. In the first quarter of 1990, TRYBUNA has run up a 6.5 billion zlotys deficit. This far outperforms the other RSW deficit makers.

The commission has suspended, among other titles, the publication of NA PRZELAJ and SPORTOWIEC. The decision here was motivated by the financial condition of the two titles. From the information gathered by the commission it appears that overall the RSW combine is not a deficit maker. It makes a profit from its printing, distribution, and retail outlet divisions.

Out of the 160 titles owned by the RSW, 36 applications for transfer of ownership have been received to date, including several conflicting applications in respect to ZYCIE WARSZAWY. Most of the applications to set up cooperatives have been submitted by editorial staffs, but there has also been an application from a printing shop in Lodz and from the Enterprise for Circulation of Publications in Kielce.

Sejm Body Criticizes Decisions on Party Assets

AU2304091190 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 Apr 90 p 3

[Anna Karpinska report: "The Former PZPR's Heritage"]

[Text] The former Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR] occupied about 1,900 buildings and premises all over the country. Most of them will become state property, and the old administrative decisions, leases, and other agreements will be annulled. The vast majority of these facilities has already been placed at the disposal of voivodas and mayors.

The dispute that dominated the 17 April session of the Sejm Justice Commission concerned only the 23 buildings which belonged to the PZPR outright. These buildings had been built out of the PZPR's own funds, on the PZPR's own land. The Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland [SdRP] has taken over these buildings, although a very careful perusal and analysis of title deeds is still called for, in order to establish their legality. The same applies to the property of the Democratic Party and former United Peasant Party, another 12 buildings.

The Commission members were highly critical of the work of the government commission that had been appointed to deal with these matters. They accused it of failing to establish the legal status of property, violating Council of Ministers and Sejm resolutions by transferring some of the facilities to new parties, and failing to determine the legality of title deeds. In addition, they said, the government commission had failed to present monthly reports on its work.

Jacek Ambroziak, head of the Office of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the said government commission, explained that the commission had certainly not exceeded its authority. Its work had been guided by a close respect for the law in force, he said. However, the commission was not competent to assess the legality of title deeds contained in land registers. Moreover, it had to accept whatever these land registers said. Legal documents can only be annulled by a court. The justice minister is currently examining the validity of these documents; therefore any irregularities will draw the necessary legal consequences.

During the meeting, a lot was also said about so-called movable assets, specifically the theft and destruction thereof. That is a grievous problem which also requires a rapid solution.

The Sejm Justice Commission also discussed a bill on courts of appeal. Generally, this bill met with the Commission's approval.

PSL Official on Extraordinary Congress

LD2004013690 Warsaw PAP in English 2220 GMT 19 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 19—2nd Vice-Chairman of the Polish Peasants' Party (PSL) Henryk Bak told a press conference here today that the decision of the Main Council on convening a PSL extraordinary congress between May 5 and 6 was incompatible with the resolutions of the 2nd PSL Congress which neither authorized nor told party's Statutory authorities to unite with the former United Peasants' Party (ZSL) renamed in the meantime PSL-Odrodzenie (PSL- Rebirth)

The decision is incompatible with the PSL statutes as it makes it possible for people who are not PSL members to be delegates to the congress. The participation of people who did not sign a membership declaration was a violation of the party's organizational order, Bak said.

Many joint voivodship congresses of PSL and PSL-Odrodzenie did not have a legal force to elect delegates to the PSL extraordinary congress. The same applies to the PSL-Odrodzenie Congresses which appropriated the PSL name, stressed he.

Vice-Chairman Henryk Bak called on all PSL members not to take part in the so-called—as he described it—PSL "extraordinary congress."

Geremek Received by Bush, Baker, Scowcroft

LD2504015790 Warsaw PAP in English 1024 GMT 24 Apr 90

[By PAP correspondent Ryszard Piekarowicz]

[Text] Washington, April 24—Chairman of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club, Prof Bronislaw Geremek spoke about the importance of changes in Central Europe for European integration and world developments at a session held by the Trilateral Commission, one of most influential non-governmental Western organizations grouping some 320 celebrities from North America, Western Europe and Japan, here on Monday.

Geremek was the first Pole invited to attend an annual session of the commission which has been active since 1973.

"I had an opportunity to present results of talks between Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary and also prospects for drawing up a Baltic Treaty, an agreement which would enter into contacts and an alliance with the so-called southern treaty grouping five Danubian-Adriatic states. I pointed out that this frees us from the traditional political architecture determined by the Yalta Treaty and the East-West conflict," Geremek told PAP.

According to Geremek he managed to win the commission's support for the prospects of Poland's integration in large European institutions, in the EC, and to make the body understand the need to guarantee Polish borders in a treaty.

Members of the Trilateral Commission also agreed that it was necessary to set up new institutions for European cooperation which would include such states as Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

Today, Geremek met with U.S. State Secretary James Baker to discuss European security, Polish-German relations and proposals of the Polish Government concerning the Helsinki conference and prospects for regular structures of European cooperation. In their one-hour talk they also referred to the current situation in Poland and in Central Europe.

Later on, Geremek said that the talk was very important and useful. "I had an impression that the George Bush

administration understands well Poland's policy on European security and on the new political structure in Europe," he said.

During his three-day stay in Washington, Geremek participated in the debates of the Trilateral Commission, attended a conference on the Helsinki process and delivered a lecture in the National Press Club.

On Monday, together with other participants in the session of the Trilateral Commission, he was received by President George Bush in the White House. Today, he held talks with President's National Defence Adviser Brent Scowcroft.

On Government Support for Lithuania

LD2504020190 Warsaw PAP in English 2200 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Washington, April 24—Chairman of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club Bronislaw Geremek, now on a visit to Washington, asked about Lithuania during a meeting at the National Press Club here today said in part:

The position of the Polish Government is clear. The Polish Government and society support Lithuanian aspirations for national independence, freedom and democracy. We have to at the same time see that there is a possibility to deal with the Lithuanian case on the way of political dialogue.

I can tell you that I was in Lithuania some weeks ago and I am full of admiration for Lithuanian people fighting for freedom, and also for political leaders of Lithuania, leaders of the Sajudis movement. But we have to see that this movement and its political leaders had no political experience until now, experience of political compromise, political dialogue and political deals. And they have to learn it just as we had learned it.

I hope that the United States administration and all West European governments will understand both sides of this problem. That the Lithuanians have the right to struggle for freedom and national independence and that one should see in what way the Soviet Union can accept and cope with this new situation.

Soviet-Lithuanian Conflict Examined

AU2404211890 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 23 Apr 90 p 7

[Malgorzata Leczycka commentary: "Ping-Pong"]

[Text] Speaking to journalists in Poland, Sajudis General Secretary Virgilius Cepaitis said: "We believe Gorbachev when he says that he wants change. However, the possibilities open to him are limited because the party apparatus is keeping him in check. What he can do for us? He should see to it that we do not get killed and that tanks are not used against us. What can we do for him? We can try to make this movement spread to cover the entire Soviet Union and initiate change from below."

The Lithuanians want to be a free nation. They want to live in a normal state, in prosperity and freedom, and such is the direction in which they are consistently proceeding. Mikhail Gorbachev, on the other hand, is consistently criticizing every decision that is made in Vilnius, which makes one think of a game of ping-pong.

During a visit to Poland toward the end of last year, Professor Landsbergis said that no move made by Lithuania could come as a surprise to Moscow. For example, Gorbachev knew in advance that an independent Lithuanian communist party would be set up. Nevertheless, once it was set up, its leadership was accused of nationalism, separatism, and betraying socialism. Gorbachev went to Vilnius to speak to the Lithuanian Communists in person. The declaration of Lithuanian independence also did not come as a surprise to the Soviet leader. However, his response was unambiguous: He sent a message to the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic stating, among other things, that "the president of the USSR, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the government have received many letters and telegrams expressing extreme concern and astonishment in connection with what is happening in Lithuania. People are demanding that the USSR Constitution be defended, that the Soviet Union be protected from the losses that are being incurred as a result of separatist activities. It is being proposed that effective economic, political, and administrative steps be taken."

Specific economic steps have indeed been taken over the last few days. However, this was preceded by a demonstration of strength by the Soviet Army "in defense of the Russians who live here" and of important state, industrial, and defense facilities. When several hundred Lithuanian soldiers left the Soviet Army, special units for tracking down deserters were set up within the framework of the military detachments based in Lithuania. This is because in Moscow's opinion the establishment of military formations on Lithuanian territory violates the law and may have dangerous consequences.

The recalcitrant Lithuanians also began filling important posts with people who are loyal to their fatherland, Lithuania, and that is how, for example, the prosecutor general was appointed. Moscow immediately responded by using force to place its man in the prosecutor's post. Moscow also proceeded to expel foreign journalists as it wants to have as few witnesses as possible to what it is doing in Lithuania. They were told that if they do not leave Vilnius, they will not receive their accreditation and Western journalists are, of course, required to register in Moscow before they start their work.

Moscow also does not like the fact that the Lithuanians have introduced their own visas and that the Lithuanian Government maintains numerous contacts with the West. Many articles slandering President Landsbergis have appeared in the Soviet press; articles asking what sort of Lithuanian he is if he has American advisers.

Lithuania's transition to a new economic system is definitely not a matter of no concern for the entire USSR's economic system. The USSR's economic system has functioned according to the principle of give and take. The Lithuanians were given raw materials and finished goods were then taken away from them. They were left with polluted land and polluted air. Now the Lithuanians want to buy from the USSR. They also want to sell things to the USSR as other countries do.

The Lithuanians explain Gorbachev's every move logically and patiently; even the latest one of turning off the supply of oil and gas. That is the way one behaves toward a foreign state, but not toward one's own citizens and own land. It is, on the one hand, a shock to the Lithuanian economy, but on the other hand, it is also encouraging because in a sense it recognizes Lithuania's separateness and is a form of indirect recognition of its right to sovereignty.

The Lithuanians are asking themselves when will Gorbachev, the father of perestroyka and glasnost, free himself from the influence of the conservative party apparatus and lead the nation to democracy and freedom? They still believe that he wants change in the USSR.

Professor Interviewed on Katyn Documents

LD2204185590 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 22 Apr 90

[Interview with Professor Jarema Maciszewski, former joint chairman of a Polish-Soviet historians' commission, by unidentified reporter; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] The admission by the Soviet Union last week that it was guilty of the deaths of Polish officers in Katyn, as well as Mikhail Gorbachev's presentation to Wojciech Jaruzelski of two thick files of documents concerning the Katyn affair, were events which without doubt attracted the public's attention in our country. Unfortunately, only a few know what the files which Mikhail Gorbachev presented to Wojciech Jaruzelski really contain. One of these people is Professor Jarema Maciszewski, former joint chairman of a Polish-Soviet historians' commission.

[Maciszewski] We have not received a complete set of documents; we have received accurate photocopies, but only of material which had been selected by someone. I would like to have an opportunity to lay my hands on all the materials. And it is evident from these documents that others must exist. Anyway, I have more than once publicly expressed my belief that these documents existed somewhere, deep inside some archives, and now we have had a full confirmation of this in physical form: that is, in the form of documents.

So what do these contain?

[Reporter] Precisely—that is the most intriguing thing.

[Maciszewski] So what do these contain? The most important thing, equally from the point of view of our knowledge of the crime and from the point of view of the families and friends of the people who died there, the most important thing is that we have received full lists of people who were imprisoned in Kozelsk, Starobelsk, and Ostashkov, and who died in Katyn and in two other places, the precise locations of which still remain unknown. From the three camps 448 persons have in actual fact survived, out of more than 15,000 people.

The lists we have received contain exactly 14,793 names. It would take up too much time right now for me to explain or present my hypotheses regarding the difference between the figure of 14,793 and the figure of 15,131 which is shown in another document we have received. But we shall cope with this, with clearing up and clarifying this matter.

We have received a certain number of documents from the years 1939-41, generated by one of the NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs] directorates. This was an independent section dealing with POW's and internees. It was headed by someone by the name of Soprunenko, who sometimes appears with the rank of captain, and sometimes with the rank of major. It is noteworthy, by the way, that the people who directly dealt with this, but who were not the decisionmakers, had relatively low military ranks.

It would take too much time right now to describe all the source documents. I would like to emphasize once again that this is not a complete set of materials. These are selected documents.

Of special importance, for instance, is a numerical breakdown of what happened to all Polish POW's, including those who got into Soviet hands after the incorporation of the Baltic republics into the Soviet Union. And there we have, under Item Five, because there are various items there: so many were released, so many were exchanged with the Germans, so many died from natural causes—there were 457 of these, so many escaped—and we have to bear in mind that altogether there were more than 130 of these camps, including the camps for men and NCO's of the Polish Army. Under Item Five we have, and I deliberately quote in Russian: Placed at the disposal of the NKVD in April and May 1940 through the First Special Department: 15,131. And that is precisely the number of the victims in Katyn and in two other places in the Soviet Union. One of these, according to very strong, in fact the strongest indicators, is near the locality of Kalinin, formerly called Tver. That is probably where the grave of our compatriots from Ostashkov is located.

As far as Starobelsk is concerned I wouldn't like to say anything for the time being, seeing as some very thorough research is still needed, but in this case we also have some very close indicators.

[Reporter] Are there such documents as, for instance, orders to carry out the murder or the liquidation of any particular camp?

[Maciszewski] There are no direct orders of this kind, but in the case of the camps in Kozelsk and in Ostashkov there are transport lists. This is of particular importance, but I would have to go into technical details here. Essentially, this kind of list is formulated in such a manner that in actual fact it is an order to murder these people. Obviously there are no words such as "liquidation" or "murder" there. It is written in cautious terms. But it is more or less the following kind of text—I am quoting this from memory: To the commandant of the Kozelsk Camp, you are ordered to transport the following POW's, for placing at the disposal of the NKVD in Smolensk. And then there follows a list: At the disposal of the NKVD in Smolensk, and At the disposal of the NKVD in Kalinin. The nature of the sources concerning the Starobelsk camp is different, but I have already mentioned that. So, in actual fact a denotation of this kind: to be placed at the disposal of the Smolensk NKVD—meant a death sentence.

We do not know directly the executive level. I couldn't tell you the names of the executioners, especially as one group kept them in the camps, another group escorted them, and still another group carried out the actual crime. After all, the whole mechanism of this criminal activity has not yet been fully exposed. Soviet historians, and ours, too, are dealing with this and will continue to do so for a long time to come.

[Reporter] Professor, you mentioned that most frequently it was people of not very high rank in the NKVD hierarchy that dealt with our officers. Who do you think decided to give the orders to liquidate these camps—was it also these people who held these minor offices, or was it rather people who were higher up? The name of Beria has appeared frequently; it also appears in the official statement. Is this in any way reflected in the documents?

[Maciszewski] It is; indeed it is. First of all, the most important instructions, for instance about the criteria for selecting the prisoners, are signed by Beria. Some documents are signed by one of his deputies. Furthermore, there are reports there in which these lower-ranking officers write: As instructed by the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs, this, that, and the other. I have no doubt whatsoever—knowing the system and examing similar cases of hundreds of thousands of Soviet citizens who died in the years of the Great Terror—that we can say that no decision of this kind was ever made without Beria, and, I have no doubt whatsoever, without Stalin.

[Reporter] Precisely what about Stalin?

[Maciszewski] I have no doubt whatsoever that the final decision was in Stalin's hands.

Mazowiecki Meets Western Economists

LD2404222590 Warsaw PAP in English 2040 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 24—Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki met today with experts in economics from Western countries who participated last Monday in the 2nd session of the Economic Council attached to the prime minister.

Present were Leszek Balcerowicz, Witold Trzeciakowski and other top officials and members of the Council. Among the guests there were renowned economists and architects of the economic policies, with chairman of the Bank of Israel Michael Bruno, vice-president of the World Bank Stanley Fischer, adviser to the International Monetary fund Jacob A. Frenkel, Professor Geoffrey Sachs of the Harvard University, economic adviser to President Bush John Taylor, former chairman of the U.S. Federal Reserves Paul Volcker, ex-adviser to Margaret Thatcher Sir Alan Walters who now works for the American Enterprise Institute.

A similar meeting was held last December before the introduction of the stabilization programme in Poland. On Tuesday the experts presented their comments as to the implementation of that programme over the past three months. Prime Minister Mazowiecki asked them to voice their opinions on the future economic policy in Poland.

According to Paul Volcker, the first stage of the programme was introduced properly. The experts pointed out that the stabilization alone would not be enough to promote further economic growth. In order to attain to production growth, one must speed up structural changes. Namely the process of privatization and the opening of capital, stock and bank markets.

Mazowiecki Interviewed on German Unification

LD2404185190 Warsaw PAP in English 1445 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Madrid, April 24—Asked in an interview for the PANORAMA Madrid weekly on April 23 what disturbed him most in a plan for the unification of Germany, Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki said:

"I am horrified by the prospect of setting up a German state that would not be sufficiently linked to Europe. We demand that this plan should be absolutely clear and unequivocal as regards the security of neighbours, particularly the problem of Polish borders.

"We demand the recognition of the inviolability of Polish borders under a treaty and propose that such a treaty should be signed by both German states and next ratified by united Germany."

Polish-Czechoslovak Relations Analyzed

AU2504112390 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 19 Apr 90 p 7

[Kazimierz Woycicki commentary: "The Path to Integration: Make Haste Sensibly"]

[Text] Recent developments in Polish-Czechoslovak relations have often been a source of disappointment to public opinion in a broader sense. The meeting in Bratislava showed that Prague appears to be primarily interested in southern Europe, and this is encouraged by the policy being pursued by Gianni de Michelis, Italy's minister of foreign affairs. According to many political observers, the meeting did more to cautiously outline differences than to achieve agreement on common interests.

The wish to achieve progress in relations with our southern neighbors as quickly as possible is understandable. It has to be possible to make some preliminary moves in Polish-Czechoslovak relations before there can be any great gestures of friendship. Fortunately, our relations are sufficiently good for there to be no need for us to achieve any spectacular breakthroughs. However, it will be difficult to achieve any significant progress in the immediate future.

The reason for this lies in the different rates at which economic reform is proceeding in the two countries. Prague has opted for reforming its economy slowly, and it must protect its market, which is full of subsidized goods, from outsiders. In light of this, the free movement of people, which should be a sign of elementary progress in mutual relations, is impossible under present conditions. So, without bearing grudges toward our Czech and Slovak brothers, it is better to be prepared for this than to cause unnecessary animosity and disappointment.

The period that lies ahead of us should be used to become well acquainted with what constitutes common Polish-Czech-Slovak interests.

Prague will respond favorably if Poland becomes the advocate of Czechoslovak matters in the Baltic region and if, on Poland's initiative, representatives of Czechoslovakia are present at the Baltic countries conference that the Scandinavians are preparing. We will do even more to promote closer ties with Prague if we start building roads that will allow goods to be transported from the south to our Baltic ports.

Much progress can also be achieved if we begin to prepare joint plans concerning environmental protection. This has been a source of disagreement until now, as Czech coking plants began to pollute our air. However, as we know, ecological problems do not recognize borders, and so concern about the environment can, instead of dividing us, unite us.

The transportation and telecommunications network and even the power network are another important field for cooperation.

We can identify our most important longer-term common interest as being economic cooperation between our entire region and Eastern Europe. Why should only Japanese and German businessmen dream of enormous Russian markets? Is there not a basis for talks with Prague and Bratislava on the subject of the interests that unite us when we look east?

The great gala in Bratislava was not the only important event in Polish-Czechoslovak relations in recent days. In my opinion, something no less important, although it was less noticed, was the visit that Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Jan Carnogursky paid to Warsaw and Gdansk. It was what I would describe as a working visit. What could be done today to promote closer ties in everyday, practical terms was discussed during the talks. Our southern neighbors are markedly more pragmatic than we are, as became apparent during a discussion with the visitor at Warsaw University (organized by the Central European Cultural Association and the Independent Center for International Studies).

We should respect this wise pragmatism and instead of premature talk of a mythical Polish-Czechoslovak federation, we should see to it that we get to know our neighbors better (because essentially we do not know them), establish closer ties, and determine what can really unite us.

It is better to take smaller steps leading toward modest successes that are planned well than to indulge in great gestures that sometimes prompt great disappointment.

Academician Letter to Havel on Cooperation

AU2404141390 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 19 Apr 90 p 7

[Letter from Jozef Werle, member of the Polish Academy of Sciences, to CSFR President Vaclav Havel; place and date not given]

[Text] Dear Mr. President!

Over the past dozen and more months, almost all of Central and Eastern Europe has been touched by political, economic, and social transformations that are assuming increasing speed. The joint objective of these transformations is, first, to abandon totalitarian forms of government based on utopian ideologies, ineffective economic theories, and criminal practices of government, and second, to build new, democratic, and culturally and scientifically developed societies which should become valuable, credible, and equal members of the future united Europe. The processes of comprehensive European unification that have already taken place, and those that are still to come, show that a unification of all of Europe, as a federation of countries with equal powers, is quite feasible, and not at all a mere utopia.

However, I realize that the countries of Eastern Europe will only gradually be included in these processes, and a long period of preparation might be required beforehand

because the countries of this region have not yet introduced fully democratic political forms or market economies based on private ownership and free competition, convertibility of currency, and so on. Some of these countries' governments are still trying to delay and even block these processes in the expectation that they can achieve considerable economic success by means of half-hearted changes.

In this complicated situation, coupled with major differences between the structural changes that have already been achieved, it is becoming very important to have various kinds of mutual support and accord between countries which have been joined and sometimes divided by common fortunes and history for centuries. Another matter, exceedingly important for Eastern Europe, is various aid from the developed Western countries. The situation here is varied; generally, the response has been good, but some of it has also been unpleasant.

At the end of March, I attended an international conference in Trieste on scientific and technological cooperation with the Eastern European countries, organized by the International Center for Theoretical Physics, and sponsored by the Italian Government, UNESCO, UNIDO, and the IAEA. It was attended by many representative of East European countries, plus Italy, Austria, and other West European countries. We learned that the Italian Government is due to add to the numerous scientific institutes already in Trieste, new ones which are involved in research into and the application of high-level technologies. All the scholars that spoke at the conference expressed profound interest in the possibility of a broad application of this "international scientific treasury" located on the very border between what one has grown accustomed to calling Eastern and Western Europe since the war.

Italian Foreign Minister De Michelis, who was in attendance, spoke about the quadrilateral cooperation agreement between Austria, Italy, Yugoslavia, and Hungary, concluded in November 1989. He said that this agreement was open to more countries and that Czechoslovakia would certainly sign it soon. While I write this letter to you, I have an Italian translation of this agreement on my desk beside me. The day after the foreign ministers of these countries issued a joint declaration in Budapest on 11 November 1989, the deputy prime ministers of the same countries concluded the agreement itself, which is very exhaustive as it concerns economic cooperation in industry, agriculture, trade, energy, and transportation; plus scientific cooperation; plus cooperation in environmental protection, education, and culture; plus tourism and information exchange. I am not a politician, but a Polish physics professor. Nevertheless, it seems to me that this kind of mixed inter-regional ("East-West") cooperation agreement offers a better chance of accelerating the integration of Europe.

On the basis of Polish press reports on your speech given in Bratislava on 9 April, I judge that you also share this view, and you correctly say that we should not interfere with each other in this integration process, but should help each other. However, you then said something which seems a blatant contradiction of your appeal.

Referring to the aforementioned cooperation, you defined its geographic extent as the Adriatic-Danube zone. This furnishes two obvious conclusions. You mentioned the first, disqualifying conclusion right away, that Poland is not part of this geographic zone and therefore cannot become a party to the agreement. The second conclusion is an implied one, suggesting that this agreement could be extended to include the remaining countries of this zone, in other words Albania, Greece, Bulgaria, Romania, and the FRG, though the latter country is going to be occupied with building a united Germany for many years.

You confine Poland to a still nonexistent agreement between the Baltic countries, but you immediately note that if this agreement proves successful for us, your country will immediately join it, even though it does not lie on the Baltic. As far as I know, Czechoslovakia has yet to be accepted as a party to the above quadrilateral agreement, but, by playing with names, its president is already preventing Poland from following in Czechoslovakia's footsteps.

Until now, I was convinced that you were a friend of the Poles, but I have had serious doubts recently. After all, friends may have various views and interests, but friendship excludes activity to the detriment of the other. I wonder if your definition of the agreement as "Adriatic-Danubian" (with all the aforementioned consequences thereof) was agreed upon with the other signatories, i.e. Hungary, Yugoslavia, Austria, and Italy?

I hope you will consider these doubts. I do not think I am the only one who is interested in a reply. Many of my countrymen would be, too.

Jozef Werle, member of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

Demonstrations Continue in Bucharest Square

Protestors Said to Number 3,000-4,000

AU2504155090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1500 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Excerpt] The nonstop rally, which began three days ago in the University Square, continues. Traffic is blocked in the area around the Intercontinental Hotel and the big University intersection. At this time, the number of protesters has reached 3-4,000 people. The organizers of the demonstrators say that they will not leave the square unless their four demands are met. [passage omitted]

Situation 'Tense'

AU2504172890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1613 GMT 25 Apr 90

["Tense Political Climate in Bucharest"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/4/1990—After a period of relative calm, the political climate in Romania's capital has gone through sudden tension in the last two days.

Demonstrations in the heart of Bucharest of citizens who claim not to belong to any political formations, have generated tension that tells on the city's political life. According to a city police release, many of the participants shouted anti-government slogans, equally demanding the resignation of Ion Iliescu, of the PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council] and the government, seriously upset the road traffic in the University Square, causing disorder and material damage.

The new frame of mind is the more worrying to public opinion as the election campaign is in full progress, marked by large rallies, meetings with the electorate, radio and TV interviews, etc. There is fear that recent developments may destabilize the already precarious political situation in the country.

Reflecting the current state of affairs, even the April 24 session of the Provisional National Unity Council made an explosive debut. President Ion Iliescu invited to calm, order and urged all PNUC representatives, all political formations to conduct an urbane election campaign, without incitations to hatred and violence without personal attacks at political opponents. He urged for non-recourse to primitive methods that damage the moral and civic climate in the country.

Unfortunately, although having sent a delegation to discuss with the demonstrators, the parliament did not manage to ease the tension. Moreover, groups of demonstrators remained in the University Square into the night of 24 to 25. It was announced on ROMPRES terminals that by sunrise traffic resumed at that important crossroads of the capital.

Hard to foresee the future course of events. It greatly depends upon the party leaders' political will, of the understanding of the necessity to have a climate of national confidence and conciliation established. As a matter of fact this is what the overwhelming majority of the country's population wants.

Police Chief Sacked Over Protests

AU2504173290 Paris AFP in English 1658 GMT 25 Apr 90

[By Bernard Estrade]

[Text] Bucharest, April 25 (AFP)—Streets in central Bucharest were paralysed Wednesday as about 10,000 demonstrators kept up a four-day protest against former Communists who still hold the reins of power in Romania.

The protest came as an international human rights group, in the country ahead of next month's elections, warned that Romania is riddled with suspicion and mistrust, that the plight facing minorities was "potentially explosive" and gave support for some of the protesters' concerns.

Prime Minister Petre Roman on Wednesday sacked the Romanian police chief over the demonstrations, official sources said.

The sanction against General Jean Moldoveanu, also First Deputy Interior Minister, was taken because he had opposed the use of force to clear out the demonstrators from University Square early Tuesday, informed sources said.

Several protesters, who later regrouped, were beaten up in the intervention, according to witnesses.

On Wednesday, Council Vice-President Nicolae Dumitru told journalists that security forces would not intervene if the demonstrators remained peaceful. The government did not want to be accused of "stifling youth and democracy," he added.

Demonstrators, including anti-communists who took part in the December uprising which overthrew the Ceausescu dictatorship, are calling for the resignation of interim president Ion Iliescu.

Along with Mr. Ilescu's ouster, demonstrators made repeated calls for a delay in the elections scheduled for May 20, an end to the "leadership's grip on television" and the repeal of laws which continue to restrict the press.

The leadership stressed that it was taking a 'softly-softly' approach to the protest - the first real test of Mr. Iliescu and the National Salvation Front which seized control during the uprising, now expanded and renamed the Provisional Council of National Unity.

Security forces were not visible Wednesday afternoon and the mood among protesters was relaxed. One of Bucharest's four main avenues was blocked causing widespread traffic jams.

People of all ages passed the time by talking among themselves or listening to the occasional improvised speeches.

They have pledged to continue their protests until Mr. Iliescu and the interim government featuring the NSF and opposition parties resign.

Mr. Iliescu, who is a front-runner for president in the May 20 elections, says he cast off communism to take the leadership of the revolt which ended with the execution of Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu on December 25.

The interim president, whose position is being increasingly undermined by the determined anti-communist opposition, has branded the protestors "hooligans" and accused them of seeking to sabotage the country's first free elections since 1946.

Mr. Dumitru said they were being "manipulated according to modern techniques" in the election campaign, but played down the hooligan slur as an emotional outburst, saying many were youngsters with legitimate aspirations.

Three hundred people had braved the wind and rain and stayed out all night in protest on University Square, where numerous victims of the December revolution were gunned down.

None of the major parties are involved in what appears to be a largely spontaneous protest, with the would-be organisers claiming to be members of human rights groups, student bodies and intellectuals.

The protest came as an organisation planning to monitor the May elections expressed concern during the run-up to the polls.

The International Human Rights Law Group, a non-government body dealing with legal issues, said that "in Romanian society, there still exist an atmopshere of suspicion, mistrust and concerns for the future".

The Washington-based group added that "numerous allegations concerning the integrity of the electoral process were presented to our delegation".

Officials also "observed that a potentially explosive situation exists concerning the ethnic Hungarian and Romanian populations in the Transylvania region" - where several people were killed last month in ethnic clashes.

Among the concerns expressed by the group at a news conference here Wednesday was an "unfair advantage" of the National Salvation Front - as the power in the country rather than simply one party among equals.

Concerns over fair elections were "amplified by the government's control of television, printing presses and newsprint", the group said.

Officals also said that "sporadic incidents of violence and intimidation are cited (in the report): they are almost always alleged to have been committed by Front supporters against opposition parties or their members".

The incidents include "harassment, and physical and psychological intimidation of opposition party officials and members, disruption of opposition political rallies (and) obstruction of distribution and sales of oppostion newspaper and publications".

Diamandescu Appointed Police Chief

AU2504190590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1835 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/4/1990—General Corneliu Diamandescu was appointed first deputy minister of the interior and chief of the General Police Secretariat, replacing General Jean Moldoveanu who is to be appointed to another office.

Rally Organizers Urge Dialogue

AU2504202590 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Before the start of this newscast, we received the following communique from Mr. Iancu Daniel, vice president of the "16-21 December" Association, an organization that participated in the University Square demonstration:

From the "16-21 December" Association, which is an emanation of the December 1989 revolution:

This association is not an extremist one, but rather an apolitical association which has demonstrated peacefully for the past two weeks in front of the University building, under the open sky, where it has its headquarters.

The "16-21 December" Association supports canceling the decree on the direct subordination of the television to Romania's president. Our association has not resorted to violence and assaults. We state that we are conducting an open dialogue with the authorities, the communique ends.

Demonstrators Spend Night in Square

AU2604073890 Paris AFP in English 0811 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Excerpt] Bucharest, April 26 (AFP)—A four-day protest against Romania's interim leaders continued early Thursday as groups of students danced in the streets and several hundred prepared to spend the night at the scene of the rally.

Security forces stayed away after the government announced Wednesday they would not intervene if demonstrations remained peaceful. Police wielding batons had charged a crowd occupying downtown Bucharest's University Square early Tuesday, prompting more to join the protests.

The show of force brought a condemnation by the Group for Social Dialogue, an influential dissident pressure group, which said the government had responded to a "growing crisis of confidence" with "intolerance and arrogance."

The Romanian police chief, General Jean Moldoveanu, was removed from his job Wednesday for having opposed the use of police force Tuesday.

Demonstrators have been calling for the resignation of the interim government and its president Ion Iliescu who are accused of being holdovers from Romania's previous communist regime.

Several hundred protestors continued to sing and talk around small bonfires built for the night.

The protests were growing as Romania prepared for free elections on May 20. They represent a serious challenge to the interim leadership which is hoping to win the vote against a still weak opposition. [passage omitted]

Slogans, Demands, Atmosphere Noted

AU2604120490 Paris AFP in English
1130 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Jacques Boyer report]

[Text] Bucharest, April 26 (AFP)—Wearing slogans such as "University educated hooligan," and "Future political prisoner," antigovernment demonstrators in the streets of Bucharest have added a tone of defiant mockery to their protest which entered its fifth day Thursday.

In University Square in the heart of Bucharest the demonstrators, who have been gathering there since Sunday, have transformed their protest rally into an event that was at once bitter and joyful. While some debated and chanted slogans, others sang songs, played guitars, danced, and kissed one another as spring sunshine bathed the square.

"We are all mere thugs," read one sign, referring ironically to the word used by Romanian leader Ion Iliescu to describe the antigovernment protestors.

Another demonstrator had the words, "Manipulated thug" written across his shirt front. And two elderly men wearing ties stood arm- in-arm and laughed as they showed the inscription on the lining of their jackets, "Foreign agent" a reference to one of the obsessions of former communist dictator, Nicolae Ceausescu.

Government spokesmen have described the rally as made up largely of gypsies and layabouts. In fact many are intellectuals from Bucharest.

"Most of them are students, engineers, and government bureaucrats, but there are also some workers," said a computer programmer from the transport ministry taking part in the rally. Another protestor, an architect, said "no one works any more in Romania."

From early morning to late evening, different orators appeared on the university balcony shouting through megaphones the protestors' demands—Mr. Iliescu's immediate resignation, the postponement of scheduled May 20 elections until September, guaranteed independence of Romanian television, and a ban on former communist leaders standing in elections.

Behind the apparent humour, however, was an underlying feeling of militancy and bitterness among the crowd, which has numbered about 10,000 a day since Sunday. The most frequently heard slogans were "Down with Iliescu," "Freedom," and "Down with communism." Boos and derisory whistles broke out every time a red flag with the hammer and sickle emblem was brandished aloft. The boos changed to cheers and applause when it was symbolically burned. Makeshift altars strewn with flowers and lighted candles commemorated the bloody events of December.

Some minor political factions, such as the League of Students and Former Political Prisoners, were present at the rally. There were also several well-known dissident personalities present, including Mihai Lupoi, a former Army captain who was the first officer to appear on television after the overthrow and execution of Mr. Ceausescu in December. Mr. Lupoi was briefly minister of tourism in the newly-installed regime, but resigned in February after speaking out publicly against the government.

Conspicuously absent were the country's two main opposition groups, the Liberal Party and the Peasants Party.

Many demonstrators have accused the two parties of dashing hopes of defeating Mr. Iliescu in upcoming presidential elections by each putting up its own candidate for the post.

For most demonstrators getting rid of all former Communists from positions of power remains the primary objective. Their rallying cry has become "Only one solution, a second revolution."

Ratiu Attacked by 'Hooligans' in Buzau

AU2504201490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1804 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/4/1990—A statement of the press office of Mr. Ion Ratiu, the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party's (NPP-CD's) nominee for the presidency, shows that he went to Buzau, a town in southern Moldavia, to discuss with its residents about the chances for democracy in Romania and the possibilities for the recovery of the Romanian economy.

Before Mr. Ratiu's arrival, organized groups gathered in the town's square having stones and empty bottles by them, the statement shows. When Mr. Ratiu arrived at the hotel where he was welcomed by Mr. Partal, town's mayor, the hooligans who had tracked him started to act violently. Mr. Ratiu left the hotel together with the

mayor by the latter's car. The mayor tried to calm them down. "The well-wishing people" (one of them claimed to be as such) started to hit the car by their hands and feet and threw on it everything they had at hand. The car ran to the police being soon surrounded by counter-demonstrators. Policemen did everything they could to keep them at the gate but little by little they were panic-stricken since they realized that "the well-wishing people" intended to attack the police and lynch Mr. Ratiu.

After several stratagems, the police managed, after one and a half hours, when the situation was growing ever more critical, to take Mr. Ratiu out of the mess and transport him outside the town. After his leaving, the acts of violence continued being concentrated on the NPP-CD headquarters, Mr. Ion Ratiu's press office informs.

Daily Protests Demonstrators Attack on Director

AU2404172490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1640 GMT 24 Apr 90

["Appeal of ADEVARUL Daily to Journalists' Society"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/4/1990—The director of "ADEVARUL" independent daily, Mr. Darie Novaceanu, was attacked and molested by a group of agitators of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party during an electoral meeting that party organized in Victory Square on 22 April, announces the free trade union organization of the aforementioned paper.

In an open letter to the Journalists' Society of Romania and printed on 24 April, the "ADEVARUL" free trade union, the whole editorial staff of "ADEVARUL" daily ask the professional organization of journalists to firmly intervene and defend them against attacks, denigration and threats, no matter where they come from.

Qualifying the attack and molestation of the paper's director as "an irresponsible act," "a revolting act" and "an intolerable provocation" the signatories of the letter show that the extremist attacks on journalists are particularly worrying, all the more so as these attacks are ever more frequent.

The letter also calls on all journalists to show their solidarity against any attempt on the freedom of the press and proposes the postponement of the congress of the Journalists' Society of Romania and of the conference for the setting up of the professional journalists' union until the social climate improves.

Police Official Rejects Allegations of Violence

AU2604102090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0805 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 26/4/1990—The telexes received by the news agency ROMPRES have often given foreign press correspondents' references to the toughness with which the police bodies in Bucharest acted in the last few days and more particularly Tuesday morning against the participants in the meetings of protest which, starting Sunday, are held in University Square without the approval of the competent bodies.

In reference to this, Mr. Major-General Corneliu Diamandescu, first deputy minister of the interior and head of the General Police Inspectorate, stated to a ROMPRES editor:

I made a few points before the Provisional National Unity Council on the role and activity of the policy in the morning of April 24 at the University crossroads for the ensurance of the traffic flow and the city residents' peaceful going to their work places.

I thought everybody understood the police took no repressive measure or violent action to spread the demonstrators who were staying there for two days.

To our regret statements were made in the news broadcasts on Wednesday and in the press which do not correspond to the truth. The capital city residents who crossed the University Square can tell whether the police cordons that protected the demonstrators had dogs.

It was not possible to act violently in the area for the simple reason that at Hotel Intercontinental there are envoys of several news agencies. How could the police have interfered by force?

The party headquarters throughout the country are protected by order-keeping bodies. Tuesday, Mr. Ratiu resorted to police aid when he was in Buzau. Hundreds of police teams make investigations across the country of various events like murder, rape, robbery, burglary. Hundreds of patrolmen are on duty in railway stations and in trains to keep order. Over 20,000 identity cards are daily remitted. Numerous policemen watch over a smooth run of road traffic.

The chief inspector called again on the capital residents who were in University Square on Tuesday to inform the inspectorate whether they could see policemen committing acts of violence. He expressed bewilderment at the fact that, though it is said there are "tens and hundreds of victims", though words like "atrocities", "acts of great cruelty" are used, no complaint has been made at the policy bodies or the prosecutor's office.

Iliescu Denies NSF 'Confiscated' Revolution

AU2504192590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1819 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/4/1990—Mr. Iliescu rejected the charges brought against him by his political adversaries according to which the revolution "would have been confiscated," and there would have been "a plot" which took advantage of the December revolution to take over power.

The National Salvation Front [NSF] candidate to the country's presidency made that statement today in the old capital of Moldavia during an exchange of views with teaching staff and students of the University of Iasi, assessing those charges as "groundless" and "unsubstantial."

The Romanian revolution, the president of the Provisional National Unity Council stressed, was profound and radical in character, differentiating itself from all the other transformations that took place in the East European countries, and the charges that "we want to restore the old regime are absolutely groundless, because this is impossible."

"The renewing processes taking place are irreversible, our only way being that to democracy," Mr. Iliescu also said and insisted during that talk, just as during an interview with representatives of economic units in Iasi on the opinion that democracy called for decentralization of the economy, for the building of a viable market economy able to stimulate free initiative, attract investment and develop a mutually advantageous cooperation with foreign capital in key branches. Mr. Iliescu drew attention to the risks implied by the restructuring of the economy and foreign capital investment which could lead to a polarization of wealth on an internal plane and to a draining of the national income on an external plane.

After characterizing the political climate as "tense and marked by violence," Mr. Iliescu stressed that democracy imposed decency, mutual respect and a political fight of ideas and not in the streets.

New Intelligence Chief Gives News Conference

AU2604093690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0631 GMT 26 Apr 90

["Official News—Romanian Intelligence Service Is Set Up"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 26/4/1990—The Romanian Intelligence Service was set up as a central organ of the state administration the aim of which is to gather data and information on the activity of espionage services and terrorist organizations against Romania, of extremists or of individuals who plan diversions and subversive actions to undermine the national economy, to destabilise the rule of law.

Professor Virgil Magureanu, that service's director, and some of his associates told a press conference at parliament hall that through its structure, specific tasks and working methods, his service differed essentially from the former repressive communist security bodies. The Romanian Intelligence Service is not authorised to detain or arrest persons, to make criminal investigations, it does not have detention space of its own, nor does it engage in such matters of procedure as searches, confiscation of documents, objects or written material, sequestration of property, and others. Furthermore, it does not have or in any way fulfill repressive tasks or measures against citizens for their ideas or conceptions.

The tasks of the Romanian Intelligence Service, its organizational structure and working system, and its depoliticization, the same press conference was told, bring it in the service of the general interests of society, and the necessary guarantees are fulfilled that it will carry on its activity in the spirit of the best democratic traditions. The creation of the Romanian Intelligence Service is a normal defensive reaction, its character is purely defensive. Through specific measures it will make sure that state secrets remain secret and prevent the leak of classified data or information.

The Romanian Intelligence Service is responsible for its entire activity before the Provisional National Unity Council and, after elections, before parliament. To exercise real control over the service, parliament can set up commissions to see how constitutional provisions, the fundamental human rights and freedoms are observed by the service. Furthermore, the head of the service who cannot be an in active officer service, shall periodically report on the major problems arising from its specific activities and answer directly the questions related to them.

Professor Virgil Magureanu and his associates answered certain journalists' questions on the activity of the new Romanian Intelligence Service.

'Tendentious' Television Programming Criticized

AU2404132890 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 14 Apr 90 p 7

[Simion Dumitrache article: "Romanian Television and ... Idi Amin"]

[Excerpts] After liberation, the Romanian Television had the incomparable chance of being the first in the world to have broadcast a revolution live. This was followed by an informational explosion and a great number of diverse programs which kept us awake day and night. [passage omitted]

It did not take us long to realize that we have good TV directors, particularly behind the scenes. Their arrangements can make the known producers of TV stations with a large number of channels die of envy.

It was rather fortunate that the death penalty has been abolished, otherwise we might have seen a live transmission of an execution, such as former Ugandan dictator Idi Amin was offering his fellow citizens.

However, with the start of the election campaign, we have been witnessing another kind of ... execution. [passage omitted] The election studio is scheduled at an hour which is inaccessible to people who have to get up early to go to work. [passage omitted]

On 29 March, the tenacious reporter Emanuel Valeriu requested a (sort of) interview with Mr Corneliu Coposu,

which actually was an attempt at interrogation, with questions that had nothing to do with the country's current problems and their possible solution, but rather with the National Peasant Party's past. Not only the reporter, but also the television program was tendentious: the other channel was broadcasting at the same time a very popular comedy with a "cursed cat."

On the other hand, the president of a recent political "emanation," was being asked placid, meaningless, and obviously prearranged questions, of no overall interest. [passage omitted]

At an electoral rally in Timisoara Union Square, nobody seemed to applaud or cheer presidential candidate Mr Ion Ratiu (as could be seen from the broadcast clip in the "Current Events" program). Maybe the people had something to listen to!

* Results of Preelection Poll in Cluj

90BA0045A Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 10 Apr 90 p 5

[Text] An opinion poll was carried out by specialists of the Computers Research Institute in cooperation with the Cluj newspaper ADEVARUL IN LIBERTATE [Truth in Freedom].

The results of this poll, from which we cite some questions of broad interest and the points won by the most popular candidates, were computer-processed and published in the above newspaper under the signatures of Emil Munteanu, branch chief; and mathematician Stefan I. Nitchi, head of the laboratory. The questions were answered by 463 persons from Cluj County, of which 259 were women (55.94 percent) and 204 were men (44.6 percent). The youngest participant was seven years old, and the oldest 85.

These are the questions selected and the answers to them:

[Question] Who do you think is most suited at this time to become president of Romania?

Twenty-one personalities were named; nine persons (1.94 percent) expressed no choice. The most votes were obtained by:

—1. Ion Iliescu—354 votes (76.46 percent);
—2. Radu Campeanu—42 votes (9.07 percent);
—3. Ion Ratiu—22 votes (4.76 percent);
—4. Petre Roman—seven votes (1.51 percent);
—5-6. Augustin Buzura and King Michael—four votes (0.86 percent);
—7-8. Corneliu Manescu and Octavian Paler—three votes (0.65 percent);
—9-10. Gabriel Liiceanu and Ion Manzatu—two votes (0.43 percent).

[Question] Who, in your opinion, is currently the most popular personality in Romania?

The following views were expressed:

—1. Ion Iliescu—197 votes (42.55 percent);
—2. Petre Roman—191 votes (41.25 percent);
—3. Radu Campeanu—18 votes (3.89 percent);
—4. Mircea Dinescu—12 votes (1.4 percent).

The following obtained between seven and three votes, in that order: Ion Ratiu, Doina Cornea, Laszlo Tokes, Octavian Paler, Corneliu Coposu, Gabriel Liiceanu, and Petre Mihai Bacanu.

[Question] If you were voting today, for which party would you vote?

A preference was expressed for seven parties; 72 (15.55 percent) persons abstained. The results were the following:

—1. National Salvation Front [FSN]—263 votes (56.88 percent);
—2. National Liberal Party—63 votes (13.61 percent);
—3. National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party—23 votes (4.97 percent);
—4. Ecologist Party—19 votes (40 percent);
—5. Republican Party—seven votes (0.51 percent);
—6. Democratic Party—five votes (1.6 percent);
—7. Democratic Union of Magyars of Romania—two votes (0.43 percent).

[Question] Do you think the work of the government is satisfactory or unsatisfactory?

There were 372 people, or 80.3 percent, who viewed it as satisfactory; while 84 persons, or 18.04 percent, who viewed it as unsatisfactory; seven persons did not answer.

[Question] Do you think the activities of the Provisional National Unity Council are satisfactory or unsatisfactory?

Of the responses given, 271, or 58.53 percent, viewed those activities as satisfactory; 166 persons, i.e., 33.5 percent responded that they were unsatisfactory; and 26 persons, i.e., 5.61 percent did not answer.

The poll began on 10 March and the results were published on 4 April 1990.

* 'Terror' of Election Campaign Cited

90BA0047A Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 8 Apr 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Corneliu Coposu, chairman of the National Peasant (Christian-Democratic) Party, by Serban Madgearu; place and date not given]

[Text] [Madgearu] Mr. Chairman, today the National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party [NPCDP] nominated its presidential candidate. Please tell us something about this event.

[Coposu] The NPCDP today had two points on the agenda of its permanent delegation: electing a party

candidate for the presidential elections and the party's participation in the legislative elections. Six candidates were listed for the party. They were registered, their biographies were presented, and each one's program was discussed at the meeting, as were their objectives. After that they were invited to defend their programs before the leadership of the party. The candidate was then elected by secret ballot. Mr. Ion Ratiu obtained a comfortable majority and was nominated to represent the party in the presidential elections.

[Madgearu] What was your position on the presidential nomination?

[Coposu] I had to be very objective from the beginning. In view of the fact that we had six candidates—each with his own merits and length of service in our party—I could not and did not want to influence the vote of the permanent delegation; in fact this is how I handle all the issues we discuss. I am the last one to voice an opinion precisely so that each leadership member can express his viewpoint as freely as possible. I introduced all the candidates, praising their strong points and presenting their achievements in promoting the interests of the country and the party. I think that the candidate nominated was the best choice that the party could make at this time. Of course, this does not detract from the merits of the other candidates. They are all very honorable men with incontestable qualities, but this is how democracy works: Only one wins, and we hope that it is the best and the most suitable.

[Madgearu] Did you consider the possibility that the party may support the candidacy of someone outside the party?

[Coposu] We examined all the possibilities at our preliminary discussions with the leadership bureau, namely running our own candidate, supporting the candidate of another party, or an independent candidate. They were all carefully examined, and finally we came to the conclusion that our party should have its own candidate.

[Madgearu] What were the major arguments?

[Coposu] I will not necessarily cite my own arguments, but others that were mentioned. As a party appealing to the broad masses, it was reasoned that we should be present in the contest for the election of a president. Of course, the majority could have opted for other formulas. But since this one won the majority of the votes, it was adopted and accepted by everyone, because one of the basic democratic principles is that once a decision has been made, it becomes general.

[Madgearu] I think that the readers may be interested to know what the average age of the delegates who voted today was.

[Coposu] The average age of the delegates was about 45. I think that the youngest was 23 and the oldest 78.

[Madgearu] I asked you that because many people complained that your party does not put enough young people before the cameras.

[Coposu] Yes, but the great desire to promote the young generation runs against the need to focus the basic discussions on platforms, programs, and ideologies on criteria such as a sound understanding of our doctrine, something that does not necessarily require that one be young and look good on television. As I said before, the role of the older generation, the survivors of 45 years of terror, is to revive from the ashes the glorious flag of the party and pass it on to the younger generation, which is now preparing to take it over. We hope that in less than one year we will be in a position to present a larger number of young people.

The difference between us and the West is that while there the situation progressed normally, our world must now graduate from basic democracy classes. A political vacuum of over four decades cannot be filled overnight. We lack continuity. But we do not lack the people. We have a brilliant new generation, whose intellect and talents greatly make up for their forced lack of documentation. And there is something else: the extraordinary capacity of the Romanian people to sense political realities without knowing them exactly. This sensitivity to truth and to just solutions, of which we should be very proud, is what makes it easier for us to maintain an otherwise difficult contact with the public.

[Madgearu] Within the broader context of the electoral campaign, what do you think of the nomination of a presidential candidate at this particular time?

[Coposu] As a democratic party, we do not nominate a candidate, but elect him. The election took place today because this is when the meeting of the permanent delegation was convened. I don't think that it is either too early or too late, but I do believe that, although time is running out, this aspect is less serious than the short time left before the parliamentary elections. We continue to insist that the elections should be postponed. What happened in Tirgu Mures interfered with the normal evolution of the political situation and retarded the parties' organizational activities by at least two weeks. As long as violent and tragic confrontations were taking place there, the main problem was to restore peace and quiet, so there were no debates on any other issues.

[Madgearu] What are the greatest difficulties that the NPCDP is encountering in its electoral campaign?

[Coposu] The total lack of means of transportation. We operate exactly like we did 100 years ago. We campaign from individual to individual, and our activists travel mostly on foot. Secondly, there is the atmosphere of organized terror that has spread to the most remote corners of the country. We are dealing with a campaign of slander, disinformation, and lies spread from the center, for which purpose even administrative bodies are being used; recently this campaign has been using even helicopters to drop fliers against our party. Some people

picked up such fliers. They are made to look as if they came from us, but they contain all sorts of nonsense; I hope no intelligent people can believe such calumnies. And then there is a concerted campaign of violence, threats, and intimidation whose effect is only relative in cities but much worse in villages. Our villagers are threatened that their houses will be burned down and they will be beaten up if they dare vote for the NPCDP, and on the other hand, that they will not get any land if they don't support the NSF. A totally unacceptable incident happened a few days ago: A group of French parliament members wanted to go to a commune to observe our rural realities. They were attacked and threatened by a gang of hooligans, led by no one knows whom, who threatened them and chased them out of the commune. Naturally, the gang was prepared to confront activists of our party and had no way of knowing that it was only a group of visiting foreigners. So they made an embarassing and damaging impression for our country.

Nevertheless, I think that those who believe that they can hang on to power by such Stalinist methods and ignore the Romanian people's intuition will find that they are mistaken.

* Socialist Democratic Party Head on Program

90BA0047B Bucharest LIBERTATEA in Romanian 10 Apr 90 p 2

[Interview with Socialist Democratic Party Chairman Marius Circiumaru by Gheorghe Niculita and Razvan Mitroi; place and date not given]

[Text] After election day was set for 20 May, the electoral campaign opened officially and fully on 20 March 1990. In this context, our newspaper will continue to publish answers given by parties and political groups to the questions:

1. What are the characteristics of your party's program, i.e., what are its original directions and options?

2. What is your party's view of the current political, economic, and social situation in our country?

3. What solutions does your party propose to heal the economy, both in industry and agriculture?

Today's answers come from Professor Marius Circiumaru, chairman of the Romanian Socialist-Democratic Party [SDP]:

1. Our newly established party is based on old, that is to say, historical traditions. Our original options for the economy are to achieve a mixed economy featuring three types of ownership: state, group, and private property, and to combine guidance with free initiative. We do not reject the idea of privatization, only of total privatization. Our party takes into account the desire of all workers to have a secure livelihood not through unemployment pay, but by having the state maintain and subsidize from the budget areas such as: free education, free medical care, state pensions, and other facilities.

2. Romania is now at a critical point at which many things are strictly provisional, marked by a variety of political trends; the national interests, however, must come above and beyond them. Our country has a great opportunity. At this stage, Romanian democracy is like a tender shoot that must be protected by all the citizens. All the Romanian citizens must do everything in their power to care for this shoot and give it conditions to develop into a vigorous tree, above and beyond ethnic, cultural, and political pride and ambitions, so that Romanian democracy can win in the struggle against the remnants of the Ceausescu dictatorship and the stifling trends we are witnessing. In this way Romania can enter the common European house through the front door and with all the honors due a free, democratic, and dignified nation.

3. We believe that we must begin building the infrastructure for a market economy, but not chaotically, abruptly, through the liberalization of all industrial branches; but gradually, in stages, while maintaining a state economic-industrial and agricultural sector, which can serve to regulate the uncontrolled action of the laws governing a market economy.

We believe that an important role for creating a market economy infrastructure can be played by the Chamber of Commerce and Industry (with its branches throughout the country) and the Romanian National Bank. Without those two instruments all we will be able to do is put our industry at the disposal of foreign capital.

In agriculture, we believe that plots of land of up to 5,000 square meters—including the house and auxiliary farm buildings—should be given to peasants in perpetual ownership, including the right to bequeth it, but not the right to alienate it. Our party wants to see unprofitable agricultural production cooperatives dismantled, with the agreement of the respective collectives, and we think that about 10 to 20 hectares of land (which is the size that our analyses show as favorable for profitable farming) should be leased for eight to ten year periods to people who would receive credits in the form of material, financing, and expert advise—credits which do not need to be repaid in the first five years; in the meantime, 60 percent of the produce obtained should be purchased by state at retail prices, and the other 40 percent can be sold on the free market without fixed prices. Farmers may repay credits in cash or produce, according to the choice of the leasee. Also, we are in favor of restoring the common village holdings.

* Dissension Among Liberals Examined

90BA0047C Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 11 Apr 90 p 2

[Interviews by Stefan Ciochinaru; places and dates not given—first paragraph is ADEVARUL introduction]

[Text] When Mr. Ion. I. Bratianu appeared on the political scene, various news items and press communiques brought to the public's attention statements and

attitudes contesting the legitimacy of the historical succession of the liberal movement claimed by the party led by Mr. Radu Campeanu. Wishing to inform our readers of this important and interesting dispute, we asked the chairmen of the two political groups for interviews. At the National Liberal Party [NLP] only the first deputy chairman was available for questions.

Interview With I.V. Sandulescu, Deputy Chairman of the NLP

[Ciochinaru] Mr. Sandulescu, you are the first deputy chairman of a historical party. What is the place of liberalism in the relationship between history and modern times?

[Sandulescu] The NLP currently supports the new liberalism, the liberalism of the 1980's and 1990's, which is primarily a state of mind and only secondarily a political doctrine and which led to the crystalization of the socioeconomic form characteristic of the prosperous countries of today. There is, of course, a continuity link between the liberal ideas of the past and the present ones. However, the realities of half a century ago cannot be confused with the ones of today. Currently, being a liberal means, aside from the idealism presupposed by this belief, especially being pragmatic. Consequently, our political program is based on the realities prevailing in Romanian society today. Our party is primarily concerned with the rapid restoration of the national economy after the disaster of the past 45 years.

[Ciochinaru] In this case, how do you explain the existence of several parties whose name include the word "liberal?"

[Sandulescu] As I said, liberalism is a state of mind, so it is only normal that it should beget political forces whose programs and ideas are close to one another. However, there is another facet, too. At the side of these political forces, we see the emergence of opportunistic groups, made up of people ready for any compromise, who are adopting this name. In point of fact, these are diversions designed to cast a shadow over the NLP, whose popularity is continuously growing.

Interview With Mr. Ion I. Bratianu, Chairman of the Bratianu Liberal Union [BLU]

[Ciochinaru] Numerous telephone calls and letters received by our newspaper prompted us to come to you to find out both who you are and what the Union you head represents in relation to the NLP led by Chairman Radu Campeanu?

[Bratianu] I am a liberal by birth, since I belong to the Bratianu family, which is a unique case in Europe, namely a name that is identified with a party. And not merely any party, but one of the oldest parties, formed before 1866.

The establishment of the BLU was brought about by the failure of our talks with the current leadership of the NLP, particularly with its present chairman, Radu Campeanu, who was elected by applause. What I mean to say is that the classical democratic voting formulas—secret ballot or hand vote—were completely ignored. This alone makes it superfluous for me to add any comment or specification concerning my relations with the present NLP leadership.

[Ciochinaru] Nevertheless, there seemed to have existed a liberal tradition according to which important decisions regarding the fate of the party, the election of leaders, and the adoption of political strategies were adopted—I repeat, at least by the liberals—"by acclamation." Is applause not a form of acclamation?

[Bratianu] Yes, it is. But Mr. Campeanu thinks that the history of the liberal party, which was cut short on 6 March 1945, can simply be resumed on 5 January 1990. Like a tape that was torn and is now glued back regardless of the changes that have occurred during this interval.

[Ciochinaru] Mr. Bratianu, in many of your recent interviews you stated that the most important thing now is the unity of all Romanians during this period. Does that not apply to the liberals, too? Shouldn't the liberals remain more closely united than ever in this electoral context, above and beyond differences of nuance and personal ambitions?

[Bratianu] But of course, this is exactly what we are doing. The BLU is not only a party, but also a group of political parties. It is a group that welcomes all the parties, even the NLP, on the sole condition that they fall in with the guideline governing our Union, namely the struggle against totalitarianism and any tendencies toward dictatorship, regardless of its nature or of the major influences it incurs, that is to say, the struggle to consolidate democracy.

[Ciochinaru] It is being frequently said among political circles and in the Romanian press that the "liberal schism" is mainly due to personal conflicts. What do you think, is this true?

[Bratianu] What can I tell you? When I came to Romania I did not intend to go into politics, although my specialty is electoral and political marketing, something I told Mr. Campeanu at our very first meeting. What made me change my mind was the way the NLP slipped toward dictatorial methods that outdo in scope even the paranoia of the former dictator. What I have in mind when I say this are mainly issues No. five, six, and seven of VIITORUL, in which the demagoguery, worship, and hymns of praise addressed to Mr. Campeanu were downright demented. Please put it just like this. I am responsible for my statements and I assume the role of spokesman of the national consciousness in order to struggle against pushing my compatriots into fanaticism and to destroy this 'Campeanu myth' created by his oratorical talent within the context of a political and spiritual vacuum.

NPCDP Election Emblem, Principles Described

Appeal to Citizens

AU2604100090 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 19 Apr 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The Election Emblem of the National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party Is an Eye"]

[Text] Esteemed citizens! By voting for **the eye** you will be voting for **the market economy**—the form of the economic and social organization of work and everyday life that has guaranteed the Western countries only well-being and wealth!

—The National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party [NPCDP] promotes and guarantees **ownership pluralism**, that is individual, personal, or family ownership, private ownership within associations, mixed ownership, and state ownership.
—The NPCDP will create all necessary conditions for **free competition** and for **free economic competition**.
—The NPCDP advocates the country's economic opening to foreign countries and the country's integration into the great economic flow of the civilized world.
—The NPCDP will consistently promote **private ownership** as an important source of well-being for each citizen.
—As the party of the broadest and most varied categories of citizens of Romania, the NPCDP is a **party of social justice** since it does not pursue the division of the Romanian society into rich and poor classes, but pursues **the well-being of all**.

Appeal to Workers

AU2604125090 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 20 Apr 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The Election Emblem of the National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party Is an Eye"]

[Text] **Romanian brothers in industrial enterprises, construction, and transportation!**

Workers throughout free Romania!

You are, together with the peasantry, the salt of our Romanian soil! You are achieving everything of material value in our country! You have borne and continue to bear the brunt in Romania and therefore you are entitled to the recognition and appreciation by the whole nation.

Workers of this free country, you have the right to a much better life in accordance with your talent and work!

You have the right to modern working conditions, to factories, plants, and equipment to match your professional skills!

The Program of the National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party [NPCDP] on ownership and market economy provides for the development of a viable modern industry that will ensure a good life for the whole nation.

The programs of the National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party stipulate that the factories are really yours and the fruits of your work are also yours!

We will not sell the factories and plants to anyone!

Have full trust in the patriotism of the **National Peasant** (Christian Democratic) Party!

By voting for the National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party you vote for the well-being of all Romanians!

Appeal to Intellectuals

AU2604125290 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 21 Apr 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The Election Emblem of the National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party Is an Eye"]

[Text] **Intellectuals!**

Men of culture and art!

Creators of Romanian culture and thinking!

The National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party [NPCDP], whose political and socioeconomic activity is rooted in the millennia-old traditions of the Romanian people, calls on you to participate, as good sons of this land, in the cultural renaissance of free and democratic Romania.

The National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party promotes our cultural renaissance on the basis of Christian morals and the ancient traditions of Romanian tolerance and humaneness.

The National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party advocates: Full freedom for intellectual creativity; freeing culture and its establishments from the influence of political ideologies; material and unconditioned support for the unions of creativity; wide international dissemination of our national culture; and the reorganization of the whole Romanian cultural activity on humane and democratic bases.

Vote for the National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party—the party of the great Romanian traditions.

Progressive Democratic Party Sets Out Aims

AU2004123090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0633 GMT 20 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 20/4/1990—The Progressive Democratic Party was created as a party of national reconciliation and its aim is to promote the true v. !ues of democracy, progress in all the areas of the economic,

social and cultural life and political and ideological tolerance. It gathers the democratic and progressive forces willing to take part in the building of a new, prosperous Romania and militates for the assertion of the individual's rights and freedoms.

As for Romania's future, the Progressive Democratic Party considers that the entire economic, social and political life of the country should be governed by the supreme law of the state—the constitution—it supports the idea of a state of law in the form of a republic and of the separation of powers in the state—the legislative, the executive and legal powers—and states for the depolitization of state institutions, of the Army, of the police and of the magistrature.

The party's president is Mr. Ion M. Uta and its vice-presidents are Mr. Viorel Matei and, respectively, Mr. Marius Popescu.

Romanian Democratic Front Appeals to 'Reason'

AU2504195690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1823 GMT 25 Apr 90

["Appeal to Reason and Understanding"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/4/1990—The founding members of the Romanian Democratic Front assess as "superficial, groundless and inopportune" the 24 April televised statement of the Youth Commission of the National Liberal Party according to which the members of the "Timisoara" society led the fight against the dictatorship and communism during the revolution in Timisoara.

A communique sent to the ROMPRES news agency specifies that the revolutionary act of Timisoara was coordinated by the Romanian Democratic Front, while the "Timisoara" society was founded after that event.

Set up on 20 December, the Romanian Democratic Front considers it necessary to reiterate its wish to further fight for the consolidation of the victory won with the sacrifice of the youngest sons of the nation.

Wishing not to get involved in the political confrontations that followed the revolution, part of the members of the Front's first executive committee decided to adopt an other than active form of extending the cultivation of the ideals for which the alternative of the supreme sacrifice was accepted. It was in that way that the Romanian Democratic Front's decision to dissolve itself and turn into an everlasting symbol of the revolution in Timisoara was ratified. It was a credit that proved to be too great.

Concerned over the latest developments, an initiative group made up of members of the executive committee of the initial Romanian Democratic Front considers it their duty to launch a sincere appeal to reason and mature understanding, the communique reads in conclusion.

Further Reportage on HDUR Congress in Oradea

Second Day's Proceedings

LD2204232190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 22 Apr 90

[Text] The Democratic Association of Magyars in Romania [RMDSz, Hungarian name for the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania, HDUR] Congress is in its second day in Oradea. Peter Marvanyi and Attila Miklos Nemeth report from the scene:

While the votes given for the board of 101 members were counted, the RMDSz Congress continued. (Geza Szocs), poet, who returned from emigration to Cluj, and who would be welcomed by one of the wing of the movement as president of the organization, is optimistic. His speech had an entirely different tone to the earlier ones. In his view, the Tirgu Mures events, with all their tragedy, made the Bucharest government realize that it cannot do just anything with the nationalities.

He called it a result of the revolution that the Hungarians, in this hall, can say anything without punishment, for which five months ago they would have received beatings. He indicated that it is not worth dealing with the accusations of the Romanian press too much. He referred to a very interesting concept when he suggested that there is no need to wait for Bucharest's support for the relaunching of the Bolyai University, it can be achieved by the Magyars' efforts.

About himself, among other things, he said that he does not long for a political career; his possible nomination is due to his friends electioneering in his favor because a few weeks ago it seemed that the leaders of RMDSz did not want themselves nominated in the future.

Geza Domokos, who spoke after Geza Szocs, confirmed that he does not wish to be nominated for the post of president. He said at the same time that Geza Szocs' speech convinced him that his reservations were exaggarated regarding the nomination of the poet. A young and strong man is needed, he said, and he quoted the organization's slogan about clean people dealing with clean matters.

Leaders Express Views

AU2404134390 Budapest MTI in English 2007 GMT 22 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, 22 Apr (MTI)—The congress of the Hungarian Democratic Federation of Romania (HDFR) [Hungarian name for the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania, HDUR] continued in Oradea on Sunday with contributions.

Several delegates raised the necessity of a radical purification in the Federation, including the need to free it not only from the burdens of past communism but to distance itself from the reform communists as well.

Geza Domokos, president of the Federation announced that although he had been a member of the Romanian Comunist Party CC until 1984, he has been serving the cause of Hungarian book publishing as the head of the Kriterion publishers and was among the first in setting up the Federation. He has taken on a service through his activity and did not request to be re-elected, he said.

The Rev. Tokes, bishop of Oradea, did not agree with the demagogical anticommunism, which for instance Imre Pozsgay fell victim to in Hungary. Concerning the events of Tirgu Mures, the Rev. Tokes said, the Vatra Romaneasca does not represent the Romanian people. Romanian media does not shed light on forces moving behind the scenes, therefore the country has to be saved from the Vatra Romaneasca.

Other contributors warned about the need to halt the dangerously expanding exodus and for the congress to call on ethnic Hungarians not to choose emigration. Delegates also urged the creation of a ministry of nationalities.

In his speech, Karoly Kiraly, vice president of the Provisional National Unity Council, analysed the relation between the National Salvation Front and the HDFR, recalling that after the revolution, the federation supported the progressive forces of the front, which at the time declared to grant the same rights to the minorities as those to Romanians. The situation was however made complex by the front taking part in the elections. It seems that the nationalities and various political interest groups became the tool of parties in this election campaign.

Reacting to attacks on reforms Communists Mr. Kiraly said he was subject to persecution for the very same reasons during the Ceausescu era, i.e. for wanting human rights, nationality rights and democracy. He described the HDFR as an organisation disposing of strong local organisations but a weak centre, and also shared the view that new times require new faces. Therefore he announced that in the interest of renewing the organisation he does not wish to take on any assignment, but if he is requested he will be pleased to continue his activity for the federation as an adviser.

Congress Resolution Issued

AU2504112290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0935 GMT 25 Apr 90

["Election Campaign: Resolution of HDUR First Congress"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 25/4/1990—The first congress of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [HDUR] carefully and responsibly analyzed the questions connected with the setting up and consolidation of the union, the activity carried on in its first four months of existence, the struggle to ensure the legal framework for the settlement of the national relations, relying upon models of European democracies, as well as secured free assertion of the national, individual and collective rights, reads the resolution of the union's congress held in Oradea over April 21-23.

The first of the resolution's nine points is a request addressed to the Provisional National Unity Council and Romania's Government for the undelayed extinction of the tensions emerged in the minorities' relations and for the endorsement of a firm stand in view of a democratic settlement of the issue, of ensuring in fact the nationalities' individual and collective rights.

The document levels criticism at the "Vatra Romaneasca" union and expresses solidarity with the representatives of the national minorities and the Romanian nationals accused and attacked for their activity toward democratization, stabilization and progress. The congress, the resolution reads, espouses the Timisoara Proclamation, disagreeing however with the principle of collective responsibility, and commits itself to the continuation and triumph of the revolution.

Noting that emigration, that has grown especially after the Tirgu Mures events, has baleful repercussions on the future of the Hungarian minority, on the role assumed in Romania's democratic transformation, the congress cautions the political leadership about the danger thus emerging as regards the declining physical and intellectual potential of the population and insists on the undelayed and sincere investigation of the causes of mass emigration, as well as on the annihilation of all factors causing it.

The document mentions that the HDUR shares the principles of the Christian conception and morals, also announcing that the union will participate in the parliamentary elections nominating candidates from among the most representative persons of the Hungarian minority. Likewise, the HDUR makes a point of reiterating its request for the organization of the instruction network in Hungarian from kindergarten to university.

Young people are the hope of the democratic development of the Hungarian minority and we therefore want to ensure best conditions for their education and instruction, for their social life, so as to provide for the accomplishment of their future mission.

The congress resolution includes also several declarations including the one on the common land—against national totalitarianism—a document worked out by the Cluj branch of the union.

ADEVARUL Ridicules Ratiu's 'Father Image'

AU2504085590 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 18 Apr 90 p 1

[Magdalena Boiangiu article: "A Rich Father"]

[Text] On Monday 16 April, Mr.Ion Ratiu's press conference turned—also to his own astonishment—into an election rally with lots of rhythmic applause and standing ovations (we wonder whether this ritual has not

become a kind of automatic reaction to any person standing on a rostrum). We were again told that he will run for the position of president of Romania. The representatives of the National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party [NPCDP], the National Romanian Party, the Christian Democratic Union, the Peasant Party, and the Republican Union who introduced him spoke about his personality of "world scope" and his political and moral qualities. Mr. Teofil Peciul, Romanian Academy laureate, considered the race as already won and was proud to stand—literally—alongside the future president, who smiled condescendingly.

The father image, of which Mr. Gabriel Liiceanu is so afraid, was adulated once more. The fact that he, the father, was not very present during the various dramas lived through by his family, is to his advantage; from far away, he was on the right side of the barricades and stayed clean. Consequently, he is a serious guarantor of the anticommunist struggle. But his main attraction is his wealth and his ties with rich people and rich countries. Hence, through Mr. Ratiu, we will have "back channel influence" in the world; the fact that he has had his picture taken with Mrs. Thatcher is further unarguable proof of this.

Quite versatile in political subtleties, the candidate presented an apparently moderate program, stressing that the country's future wealth depends on the efforts and initiative of the citizens and that he has settled in the country in order to guide, not to ruin himself. Being familiar with the game and rules of democracy, Mr. Ratiu disapproved of direct attacks on adversaries, which he interrupted resolutely, only to resume them politely.

Asked how he assesses his chances in the campaign with the other candidates, he said that everything depends on the freedom and secrecy of the ballot: "Nobody need suffer or be afraid that he voted for Ratiu." That is so. We hope that, if he wins, nobody will suffer or be afraid that he voted against Mr. Ratiu.

Albanian Intelligence Operations in Yugoslavia

AU2504171690

[Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 14-15 April on pages 1,4, and 5 carries an approximately 3,500-word article by Dragan Vitomirovic on the activities of the Albanian intelligence service in Yugoslavia entitled "Long 'Dormant Agents.'"

Vitomirovic begins his article by saying: "In the last 10 or so years, in view of the compounding hostile events in Kosovo and other parts of Yugoslavia populated by Albanians, the Yugoslav and world public are increasingly interested in the role of Albania and its intelligence service in all this.

"According to some people the Albanian intelligence service is the main 'troublemaker' in parts of Yugoslavia, because it has numerous agents who have penetrated all segments of Kosovo society in which Albania is investing enormous funds. According to other people, the role of Albania and its intelligence service in the 'Kosovo project' is marginal, and therefore we should first 'put our house' in order before we deal with the 'Albanian factor.'

"So far no one in authority has said what is what and who is the Albanian intelligence 'link' with Kosovo, or behind Albania's aspirations to establish an ethnically great Albania, or what is being done to neutralize this activity (if it exists)? At present there is no one in Yugoslavia who could possible present the public with this kind of relevant data, either because this is a professional secret, or because there is an 'unknown number' of actions by Albania against Yugoslavia.

"Instead, the Yugoslav public is offered 'truths' which, as a rule, are inconclusive, lack support, and are sensationalist, 'truths' according to which the Albanian intelligence service is behind every individual, every emigrant organization, every illegal group or organization that has been uncovered. In this way its role is ridiculously magnified and its work in some ways glorified. The other extreme of minimizing some intelligence 'successes' of the Albanian intelligence service could, on the other hand, adversely affect the counterintelligence aspect of the training of young people."

Vitomirovic then goes on to explain the role of intelligence services in the creation of a country's foreign policy in general, and that of the Albanian intelligence service in the creation of Albania's foreign policy toward Yugoslavia in particular:

"The creation of a foreign policy, be it an ad hoc or a long-term policy, greatly depends on the accurate, timely, and objective information and assessments of intelligence services. This is why in many countries the intelligence services are directly linked to the governments of these countries.

"Regarding the Albanian intelligence service, or at least the part of that service that is belligerent toward Yugoslavia, one can say with a fair amount of certainty that it has been successful in that it had worked out that Yugoslavia will be in a prolonged 'state of war.' For this reason the Albanian intelligence service had organized itself well in good time, it had selected the most able cadres, and had secured considerable funds. All this resulted in Albania succeeding in gathering in the last two decades a considerable amount of information through its activities in Yugoslavia, especially via Kosovo."

Vitomirovic then describes the stepped up operations of the Albanian intelligence service in the period 1968-1981 and the role of Albanian embassy in Belgrade on gathering information and establishing contacts. "Albania 'seconded' its most able cadres to the intelligence service. Their task was to find as many people as possible, particularly among intellectuals, whose political views and stands are in line with those of the Albanian Workers' Party, in line with the aspirations to create an ethnically pure Albania.

"Numerous mutual visits that took place at that time, visits that were, as a rule, ethnically pure, involving only Albanians from Albania and Albanians from Kosovo, enabled the Albanian intelligence service, by using the visa-issuing system, to select and prepare for deployment a number of citizens of Albanian nationality out of those who intended to travel to Albania. The system of issuing visas worked in such a way that our citizens who wanted to travel to Albania had to apply for a visa. As a rule, they had to go to the Albanian embassy in Belgrade personally. The invitation to the embassy to collect a visa was usually conveyed orally, through those who had already obtained a visa, and very rarely by telephone. Some individuals working in this protocol service were in fact the people through whom the Albanian intelligence service was receiving information about certain people on the basis of which further assessments were made as to whether they were suitable for recruiting. For instance, whenever any professor from the University of Kosovo was traveling to Albania, if this was his first time, he had to apply for a visa, and the person in charge of the protocol would personally take his application to the Albanian Embassy in Belgrade. Certain people in the Albanian Embassy in Belgrade, always members of the intelligence service who enjoyed diplomatic immunity, conducted talks with all those who were waiting for a visa, especially if they were someone either in the economy, social life, or cultural circles in Kosovo.

"In this way, in the space of over 10 years, the members of the intelligence service working in the Albanian Embassy in Belgrade conducted talks with several hundred people of Albanian nationality. Through a clever systematization and combination of the information that had been gathered, whether this had been done through casual conversations or submitted information

from the side, they created a complete picture of the problems the Albanian intelligence service was interested in ..."

In addition to being present in and operating from the Albanian Embassy in Belgrade, the members of the intelligence service, Vitomirovic claims, often visited Yugoslavia as members of various official delegations. "Their task was to establish wide-spread contacts with Albanians in Kosovo, and study, check, and select interesting people. Cooperation between the University of Kosovo and the University of Tirana enabled Albania to send a number of well-known intelligence agents together with various professors to hold lectures in Pristina. The best known of all of them was Bujar Hodza."

According to Vitomirovic, the Albanian agents were working quickly, skillfully, and systematically, bearing in mind that one day Yugoslavia will 'realize' what is going on, and that there may even be a break in relations between Yugoslavia and Albania, that is, that 'border barriers would be closed' thus preventing the movement of people, something that could adversely affect the work of the intelligence service and contacts with its agents, as well as the further involvement of Albania in Kosovo. The bulk of the recruited agents were intended to 'dormant' agents. The aim was to activate them when relations become 'frozen.'"

After the predicted freeze in relations in 1981, Vitomirovic continues, Albania moved "all its best cadres from the Albanian Embassy in Belgrade and Yugoslavia as a whole to its diplomatic-consular offices in the countries around Yugoslavia, to the countries with which Yugoslavia has the most intensive contacts. So, almost all those agents who established and maintained contacts in Kosovo quickly found themselves in Vienna, Bucharest, Sofia, Istanbul, Ankara, Rome, Athens, and other European cities."

Vitomirovic concludes his article by saying the Albanian intelligence service has continued its activities through the agents deployed in these European cities. They "activated" their contacts in Yugoslavia and organized meetings outside Yugoslavia in the above mentioned cities. Vitomirovic also claims that after 1981 the headquarters of Albania's intelligence activities in Yugoslavia was partly moved to Rijeka where contacts with its agents were uninterruptedly maintained through an Albanian shipping agency. The rationale behind the idea of shifting activities to Rijeka, according to Vitomirovic, was that, because there were some 10,000 Albanians living in the Rijeka area, the presence of a large number of Albanians would not arouse anyone's suspicion.

Report on Albanian Refugees Presented to Assembly

AU2504113390 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 April 90 p 3

[TANJUG report: "Problems With Deportation"]

[Text] Belgrade—A total of 732 Albanian citizens currently reside on the territory of Serbia. Of these, 310 have recognized refugee status, as do their 99 children who enjoy the status of their parents until the age of 18. Out the total number of adult Albanian citizens (633), a half of them are not in a possession of a permit to stay and do not have valid identity cards issued to foreigners. They are living in Yugoslavia illegally since their residence is not endorsed by any piece of legislation. This is stated in a report of the Federal Executive Council on the movement and residence of refugees from the People's Socialist Republic of Albania that was forwarded to the SFRY Assembly yesterday.

According to the information of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, which dates back to the beginning of this year, in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo the law on foreigners working was violated on a number of occasions. Some refugees worked without permission from the relevant organs as forest rangers, porters, and even teachers, which is in contradiction to regulations. In Montenegro, three refugees are in employment. One of them has the permission of the official organs. In Macedonia, two refugees are working without a permit, and in Kosovo 88, of which only 23 have a work permit.

The statement points out that although it could be expected that a process of terminating the stay or annulling the refugee status of some refugees will be started, problems will arise as to how to find appropriate solutions for their deportation, because the majority of these people, according to the existing regulations and international agreements which are binding for the SFRY, cannot be sent back to Albania without their consent.

The report concludes that the records on refugees and other Albanian citizens who live on the territory of the SFRY are not complete and comprehensive mainly because the duties of the organs of internal affairs in this sphere have not been carried out fully in accordance with the existing regulations.

Drnovsek Receives Council of Europe Official

LD2504231190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1522 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Apr (TANJUG)—SFRY Presidency President Janez Drnovsek received today Dr. Ludwig Steiner, chairman of the Political Affairs Committee of

the Council of Europe, who is visiting our country as the guest of the Interparliamentary Union. In friendly and cordial talks, they discussed President Drnovsek's forthcoming visit to the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, of which Dr. Steiner said that it would be a very important stage of Yugoslavia's advancing towards full membership in the Council of Europe.

Rocard Receives Serbian Premier in Paris

LD2604045690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0000 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Paris, April 25 (TANJUG)—French Premier Michel Rocard said, during his talk with the premier of Yugoslavia's Republic of Serbia, that France would give its full support in the club of 15 to Yugoslavia's efforts to realize its monetary stability abroad.

The Serbian premier also discussed with the French premier possibilities for French firms to take part in Serbia's development projects, such as in building a Belgrade-Subotica Highway and in investments in electric-power industry.

The Serbian Government's delegation also attended the signing of a protocol on joint investments by Alcatel, a French firm, and Ei Nis, a Serbian factory, in a joint mixed enterprise for producing telephone exchanges and equipment. The all-in [as received] worth of deals possibly to be made within this agreement was put at 500 million dollars.

In virtue of this protocol, Serbia's economy is becoming a partner of Europe's strongest PTT company which accounts for about 15 per cent of the world market for such products.

Entry Requirements for East Europeans Criticized

AU2504220590 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Apr 90 p 2

[Dusan Sekulic commentary: "When the Government Puts on Airs"]

[Text] Today, the Yugoslav Government made an unprecedented and dangerous move by virtually closing its borders to the citizens of the former East Bloc with the imposition of the mandatory requirement to exchange a certain number of dollars before being allowed to enter the country. At the same time, citizens from Western countries will this year be able to enter our country not only without visas, but also without passports. The discrimination is based on a dishonest principle: The citizens of East Europe, the USSR, and Mongolia are not welcome unless they can pay $200 on entering Yugoslavia. One should bear in mind the fact that $200 is an annual salary in Romania, and that even if a Romanian had the money, and wanted to pay for the privilege of entering Yugoslavia, he would not have the right to go to our banks on his return home and change back into dollars any dinars left over from the $200 he exchanged on entering Yugoslavia.

This move is almost unprecedented in more recent history. In the past, similar measures were undertaken by regimes in countries with real socialism—including Romania and Hungary, but their measures amounted only to a twelve dollars a day. The same thing was done by some other alienated and subsequently failed regimes all over the world, but in a Europe envisaged by the CSCE, this is unprecedented. At present, a Romanian on our border is in the same situation in which a Yugoslav would be if the Italians or Austrians asked him to exchange $2,500 every time he crossed their borders, giving him Argentine australes or Nigerian naira in exchange for his dollars. This move has virtually closed the road to the world for Romanians and Bulgarians, something they will not forgive us for. One should only think in terms of what open borders with Italy and Austria meant to the Yugoslavs some 30 years ago, to what extent this kept us in touch with the normal world. This move raises in particular, the question concerning citizens of Czechoslovakia, because any normal person knows that there are more Yugoslav smugglers in Czechoslovakia than Czech smugglers here. Does this decision mean that we no longer need them as private tourists who come to our country by car?

Why is Yugoslavia doing something that is bound to provoke retaliation? If the lines at the border crossings are the reason, then this is not a very clever solution. We should widen our border crossing, like the Italians and the Austrians did. If the reason for doing it is the smuggling of various knickknacks which poor people from the East sell cheaply in our country in order to obtain foreign currency from our citizens, then the government should be asked: What is wrong with this? If the Romanians, Bulgarians, and Russians are bringing into our country that which our citizens want to buy, it means that these things are much more expensive in our country. Is our government not in fact spending billions of dollars to ensure the competition of foreign goods? The government itself stated that monopolists are selling tropical fruit at a price ten times higher than the purchase price. One can only wonder about other products. If the couple of million dollars that would be purchased by poor people from the countries of real socialism—mainly in order to come back and purchase electrical goods and clothes—represent a threat to our foreign exchange reserves, then we had better abandon the idea of foreign currency liquidity and convertibility.

The main reason for introducing these discriminatory measures against our neighbors—who are probably more loyal friends than some other people whom we welcome with open arms because they have deep pockets regardless of the fact that they treat us as a lower race in their own countries—is the request made by West Europe to make our borders a "filter" for the citizens of East Europe.

At the same time the French are generously opening their borders to all these "barbarians," they still require

Yugoslavs to have humiliating visas. Dare we say anything if the Germans introduce visas for us again? Or perhaps the Germans have promised that in return they will not do it again.

Whatever the reason, we will not be proud of this move. This move also appears to illustrate that certain bureaucratic, lower level officialdom, and advisory forces are slowly assuming power in the Federal Executive Council in the old way: by banning, controlling, ordering, and arranging things. They have also shown this with the issue of permits for importing secondhand cars. They are now proving that they are unable to foresee two moves ahead: Had the Italians set up their own "filter," they would not now have 250,000 Yugoslavs coming daily to shop in Trieste, and they would not have had to send a protest note to our government when it tried to stop our citizens from going there! We hope that Ante Markovic was "advised" to do all this by those whom he should get rid of as soon as possible, rather than become an instrument in their hands.

Presidency Meets, Discusses Economic Reform

LD2504220590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1552 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 25 Apr (TANJUG)—The SFRY Presidency noted that economic reform is being realized in keeping with key guidelines and that significant results have been achieved. This is stressed in the statement from today's session of the SFRY Presidency which reads:

"At a session held today and chaired by Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, the SFRY Presidency was acquainted with the FEC [Federal Executive Council] information on the realization of the economic reform and the course of further activities aimed at its realization.

Having endorsed the report of the FEC, submitted by President Ante Markovic and Vice-President Aleksandar Mitrovic, the SFRY Presidency notes that the economic reform is being realized in keeping with the key guidelines and that significant results have already been achieved above all, in curbing inflation, realizing the stability of the dinar exchange rate, foreign economic relations, and other. At the same time the Presidency draws attention to the exacerbation of problems such as a decrease in industrial production, the accumulation of social problems and similar. For this reason it stressed that, while preserving the achieved results, we must intensify activities for restructuring the economy, solving the illiquidity of economic enterprises, and reviving economic activity based on sound economic relations. To this aim it is necessary as soon as possible to proceed with the expansion of the economic system which will ensure the effective management of macroeconomic processes." [passage omitted]

"Due to public reactions, the SFRY Presidency reexamined the decision on the appointment of Stefan Korosec as ambassador to Portugal and confirmed it by a majority vote," it was stated in the end of the statement.

Instructions Detailed for 2d Round of Elections

LD2604053990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1915 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Zagreb, 25 Apr (TANJUG)—The Republican Electoral Commission today adopted the instructions for conducting the second round of elections in Croatia, which is scheduled for 6 and 7 May.

Candidates for the second round of elections will be listed on the ballot papers according to the number of votes which each of them won in the first round, not in alphabetical order. Individuals can declare their candidacy up till 1500 on Friday, 27 April, at the latest. Coalitions of several parties can be formed in order to strengthen the position of individual candidates, which will also be shown on the list of candidates and about which the Electoral Commission must also be informed by 1500 on 27 April.

The Republican Electoral Commission specially warns the competent services of the municipal administration bodies that certified copies of the municipal electoral register and specially certified lists of voters who are temporarily working abroad or are doing their military service should also be promptly provided for the second round of elections.

According to the Republic Electoral Law, the candidate who gets the majority of votes wins the second round of elections.

Workers Party Issues Appeal for National Unity

LD2504172390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1255 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Apr (TANJUG)—"Do not play with Yugoslavia for the sake of your preelection or election games," is the message transmitted by representatives of the Yugoslav Workers Party [radnicka partija jugoslavije], which will hold its founding meeting in Belgrade on 1 May.

Yugoslavia has made mistakes, but the biggest mistake would be to destroy and break up Yugoslavia, says the statement by the Yugoslav Workers Party. National leaders can become Yugoslav leaders too, on the condition they do not inscribe their names beforehand into the book of the destroyers of Yugoslavia, say members of the new party's initiative committee, whose president is Milosav Jovanovic.

"The appeal to Yugoslavia for the sake of Yugoslavia ," which is the title given to the proclamation of the Yugoslav Workers Party, stresses its comment against simplistic ideas and madness.

On a list of over 200 parties, organizations, and alternative associations set up in all the republics and provinces

in our country, the Yugoslav Workers Party, the statement stresses, is another party which in its program does not represent narrow national interests, but presses for the integrity of the Yugoslav state with all its present federal units.

LCY Presidium Proposes LCY Congress in May

LD2504091790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2110 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Apr (TANJUG)—Preparations for the 31st session of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee were discussed during the session today of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee. A statement was issued after the session the entire text of which runs as follows:

"On the basis of the consultations between the LC leaderships in the republics and provinces and in the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army], and in the light of the initiative and proposals put forward by these leaderships, of the committment of the delegates of the 14th extraordinary congress and of the membership in their replies to the letter by the members of the LCY Central Committee, the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee has put forth a proposal to hold a congress of renewal of the LCY.

"The work of the 14th extraordinary congress of the LCY must be brought to an end in accordance with the Statute and in politically acceptable way, and conditions must be established for democratic reform to be continued in the LC both at the imminent congress of renewal of the LCY and during the forthcoming congress on new program and statute foundations.

"The substance of the congress's work should consist of the following: identification of appropriate statute solutions to end the congress and to prepare a new LCY congress, and also the adoption of standing orders which will ensure its efficient work; a report on the activities and preparations in the period since the adjournment of the 14th extraordinary congress of the LCY (a report or an introductory statement); discharge of the LCY organs; verification of the composition of the committee for the preparation of the new congress—its members should be elected beforehand in the appropriate organs of the LC in the republics, provinces, or in the LCY in the JNA (two each from the republican LCs, one from the provincial LC and the LCY organization in the JNA each, and presidents of the LC central and provincial committees and of the committee of the LCY organization in the JNA as ex-officio members), this committee will act as LCY leadership until the new congress of the LCY is held; the adoption of a statement which will provide a basic assessment of the current state of affairs within the LC and a basic direction of the renewal of the LCY with the proviso that the statement will note that the declaration represents a temporary program document of the LCY which ensures the continuity and also stresses the commitment of those responsible for the drafting of the new LCY program and statute; and the announcement of a tentative date when it should be held. The congress should work in accordance with previously coordinated standing orders.

"All work of the congress will be channelled into the future without any condemnation or denigration of anyone or anyone's activity. The congress should be held this May. It should work in plenary session in the course of one day. The decisions during the congress should be adopted with acclamation. All delegates and members of the LCY organs will be invited to the congress.

"The Presidium of the LCY Central Committee believes that the most esential thing is to secure the basic aim, and this is to preserve the continuity of the LCY and of democratic changes within it, its Yugoslav character and the participation, if possible, of all or of the highest possible number of parts of the LCY.

"Bearing in mind the need for consultations to be held about this proposal in the LC central and provincial committees and in the committee of the LCY organization in the JNA, the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee decided to hold an LCY Central Committee session on 4 May instead of 26 April, the date for which it had been orginally convened," says the statement.

LCY Presidency Calls for Congress Completion

LD2504093290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0001 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, April 24 (TANJUG)—The work of the 14th special congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) must be completed in a statutory and politically acceptable manner and conditions created for the continuation of the democratic reform in the League of Communists and for the holding of a congress of renewal, the party presidency concluded at its session in Belgrade on Tuesday.

The 14th special LCY Congress was interrupted in January after the delegation of the Republic of Slovenia walked out of the top party meeting. According to a statement issued from the LCY Central Committee Presidency session, the congress of renewal would be held this May.

The LCY Presidency said in its statement that the most important task is to secure the basic aim, i.e. preserving the continuity of the party, the democratic changes in it and its Yugoslav character.

Defense Spokesman Comments on Political Situation

Rules Out Republican Armies

LD2504124690 Belgrade TANJUG Domstic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1009 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Apr (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia and all its republics have their own army. That is the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army]. The formation of other

armies is not an option. This was stated by SSNO [Federal Secretariat of National Defense] spokesman Colonel Dr. Vuk Obradovic during his regular news conference.

Commenting in response to journalists' questions on some ideas about the disbandment of the JNA and the formation of republican armies, Col. Obradovic said that the main supporters of these demands know that the breakup of the JNA and the establishment of a new model of military organization is a necessary condition for confederation and secession.

Elections, Kosovo

LD2504180890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1305 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 25 Apr (TANJUG)—The formation of other armies is not an option. [passage omitted]

A Belgrade television reporter asked Colonel Dr. Vuk Obradovic whether the Army believes that the victory of the Croat Democratic Community in Croatia has put the Yugoslav identity of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] under a threat, bearing in mind Tudjman's earlier statements. The SSNO [Federal Secretariat of National Defense] spokesman said briefly that the general Yugoslav character of the JNA is one of its central planks, set down by the SFRY Constitution, that it permeates the overall essence of our Army, and that it cannot be called into question.

Obradovic described some foreign and domestic press reports that the JNA allegedly will not accept the electoral victory of the opposition in Slovenia and Croatia, coupled with hints of a military coup in the eventuality of an HDZ [Croat Democratic Community] and Demos victory, as pure speculation. This speculation cannot be drawn from the resolve of the JNA "in all situations to fulfill its share of responsibility in the defense of the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the system established by the SFRY Constitution".

In connection with rumors that three officers in Paracin Barracks were sentenced to death and that the sentence was carried out, the SSNO spokesman said that "the judicial process in connection with the tragic assassination in the Paracin Barracks was completed a long time ago and that there was no subsequent trial". The military justice organs last pronounced a death sentence in 1975 and did so because of the criminal act of aggravated murder, said Col. Obradovic. [passage omitted]

Neither the SSNO nor, as we have been informed, the national defense organs of the sociopolitical communities have so far received a single request by recruits from Kosovo to be sent only to Slovenia or Croatia to serve their national military service there, stated Col. Obradovic.

In March no recruit was dispatched to his unit from the Kosovo municipality of Malisevo with the assistance of the Secretariat of Internal Affairs, although an order had been issued to this effect regarding six men. In the meantime, they themselves left for the units to which they had been detailed. Only four recruits from Kosovo were dispatched to serve their military service with the involvement of the militia: three from Prizren Municipality and one from Lipljan Municipality, said Col. Obradovic. [passage omitted]

More on Election Impact

AU2504160690 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] [Announcer] The present political situation in the country was the main topic of the news conference the spokesman of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, Colonel Dr. Vuk Obradovic, held for domestic journalists. Here is a report by Mijusko Tomic:

[Begin recording] [Tomic] Several Yugoslav journalists wanted to know how the Federal Secretariat for National Defense feels about the stands of the Federal Executive Council concerning the depolitization of the organs and institutions of the Federal Administration and, therefore, the depoliticization of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA], too. Here is what Vuk Obradovic, spokesman of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, said:

[Obradovic] The Federal Secretariat for National Defense is closely following and analyzing all theses and initiatives concerning the so-called depolitization of the JNA and observing them primarily from the point of view of an absolute need for the Army to maintain its all-Yugoslav character of a People's Army. Some solutions are now being sought [word indistinct] within our own reform concept without copying and even less accepting other countries' solutions which some people want to impose on us from some very definite and pragmatic reasons.

[Tomic] Before the latest elections in Slovenia and Croatia, some foreign and domestic media pointed out that the JNA will not accept the election victory by opposition forces in these two republics and stressed the possibility of a military coup in case the Croatian Democratic Community [CDC] wins in Croatia and Demos wins in Slovenia. What does the Federal Secretariat for National Defense say in reply to these predictions?

[Obradovic] This is pure guesswork lacking any real well-argued facts. The said assumptions could not have been derived from the JNA's resoluteness to fulfill its share of responsibility in defending the independence, sovereignty, [word indistinct] integrity, and the setup established by the SFRY Constitution under any conditions.

[Tomic] Is the Army of the opinion that the victory of the CDC in Croatia will threaten the Army's and Yugoslavia's [word indistinct] and integrity considering the statements Dr. Tudjman made in the past. In reply to this question, Col. Dr. Vuk Obradovic said the following:

[Obradovic] The JNA's all-Yugoslav character is one of its central principles. It is established by the SFRY Constitution and imbues the entire structure of our Army and may not be called into question. [end recording]

Army Training Seminar Held in Belgrade

LD2504164990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1037 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Apr (TANJUG)—A seminar was held in the Belgrade Army Club with Army General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, on the subject of combat training and education in the SFRY Armed Forces. The seminar, in which the most responsible officers of the Armed Forces took part, examined the way in which the goals and tasks of combat training and education in the Armed Forces were implemented during the 1986-89 period. It was said that despite very complicated socioeconomic and political circumstances in which the development of the Yugoslav People's Army proceeded, very good results were made in training the Armed Forces for carrying out their tasks in line with the SFRY Constitution and the imperatives of an armed struggle thanks to the self-sacrificing efforts on the part of commands, officers, and men.

The seminar is reported to have specified the rules of training individuals, commands, and units in response to new developments and the growing combat capacities of military hardware and the complexity in conducting armed struggle under current circumstances.

Public Media To Be Financed From Federal Budget

LD2504153390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1019 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Apr (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Assembly will take over from the Socialist Alliance the founders' rights of public information media operating at federal level. This means that in the future the information activity of BORBA, JUGOSLOVENSKI PREGLED, MEDJUNARODNA POLITIKA, Radio Yugoslavia, and the Filmske Novosti company will be financed from the federal budget.

The TANJUG Yugoslav news agency will not change its founder which is the SFRY Assembly.

This Federal Executive Council proposal was endorsed today by the Information Commission [of the SFRY Assembly] which recommended that the take-over of these federal information media should be completed as soon as possible in view of the fact that the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia Federal Conference yesterday ceased to be their founder.

The final decision will be made by the SFRY Assembly.

Latest Breakdown of Croatian Poll Results

LD2504225790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2112 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Zagreb, April 25 (TANJUG)—Of the 76 new deputies to the Croatian Assembly known by this evening to have been elected, 58 are candidates of the Croatian Democratic Union (CDU) and nine are of the so far ruling League of Communists of Croatia—Party of Democratic Changes (LCC-PDC), the vote-counting committee of this second largest Yugoslav republic has announced in Zagreb.

According to figures for elections held on Sunday and Monday for the three chambers of the Croatian parliament, the Coalition of National Agreement (CNA) is known so far to have won three seats, the League of Socialists of Croatia (LSC) and independent candidates, one each, and candidates nominated jointly by several parties, four seats.

Returns have not been processed from 46 election precincts for the Socio-political and Municipal Chambers and from 118 precincts for the chamber of Associated Labour.

So far it is certain that the second round of voting, scheduled for May 6 and 7, will be held in 86 election precincts for the first two chambers.

According to figures released this evening, 19 new deputies have been elected to the 80-seat Socio-political Chamber, among them 16 from the CDU, two from the LCC-PDC and one independent.

Of the 45 newly-elected deputies to the 116-seat municipal chamber, 32 are members of the CDU, six of the LCC-PDC, two of the CNA, one of the LSC and four joint nominatees of several parties.

Returns from 39 of the 160 election precincts for the 160-seat chamber of Associated Labour have been processed so far and the election confirmed of 12 new deputies—10 from the CDU and one each from the LCC-PDC and the CNA.

It has been decided earlier that voting for the Chamber of Associated Labour be repeated in three election precincts where an insufficient number of candidates had been nominated.

According to results of the returns from the election precincts processed so far, there was an 84.54 percent turnout for the elections for the Socio-political Chamber and [figure indistinct] percent for the Chamber of Associated Labour.

Tudjman Supports 'Loose Confederation'

AU2504151890 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 25 Apr 90 p 10

[Report on interview with Franjo Tudjman, chairman of the Croatian Democratic Community, by Carl Gustaf

Stroehm in Zagreb; date not given: "Croatia Will Only Remain in a Loose Yugoslav Confederation"]

[Excerpts] The great winner of the first free parliamentary elections in Croatia is a man who was completely unknown to the world until a couple of days ago, and who had to live as a nonperson and persecuted dissident in his own country.

Franjo Tudjman, former general in the Yugoslav Army, originally a partisan under Tito, subsequently a dissident persecuted by Tito, organized the "Croatian Democratic Community" (HDZ) within only a few months. [passage omitted]

Tudjman said that he can conceive of Yugoslavia only in the form of a loose confederation. Croatia will remain in a Yugoslav community only on the basis of such a confederation. Croatia's entire experience within the Yugoslav federation of states since 1918 has shown that there is no other solution. However, if it should not be possible to achieve a confederation, one will have to split up, Tudjman said. [passage omitted]

For the Serbs, Yugoslavia has never been anything else but an "extended Serbia." Tudjman said: "The Serbs either want a Greater Serbia or a unitary Yugoslavia. Contrary to this we are demanding either a Yugoslav confederation or separation." [passage omitted]

Tudjman said that in Croatia there is a Serb minority, which accounts for approximately 11 percent of the population. Yet this minority is overrepresented in "delicate areas" of the state authority—not just in the police, but also in the foreign trade sector, and even in the provincial government, where the Serbs have a share of 40 percent.

In the leadership of the Croatian trade union even more than 60 percent of the functionaries are Serbs. Tudjman said: "Of the seven staffers of the news section of Zagreb Radio and Television, there are six and a half Serbs, because one of them is half Croatian and half Serb." All this has brought about a situation where the Croatians feel suppressed in their own country.

Tudjman admits that the Serbs also claim that they are being discriminated against and assimilated in Croatia. "One must guarantee the Serbs that live in Croatia equal civil rights. Nevertheless, the Croatian people must be entrusted with the sovereignty. If we talk about confederation we must not forget one thing," Tudjman said: "Croatians and Serbs do not only have different historic characteristics; they also belong to different cultures. Therefore, any attempt to create a unitary Yugoslavia is doomed to fail. The future new federation of states must guarantee a high degree of independence both for the Serbs and the Croatians."

Tudjman said that a joint army and joint defense are only conceivable in the form of NATO's joint institutions. "However, in the future we do not want unities of mixed nationalities."

Concerning his party' economic program, Tudjman said: "We are in favor of implementing the same economic system that Austria or the FRG have—without any reservations. Our social state should be established on the German, Austrian, or Swedish model." We do not want to reform the Communist system. "If we talk of reform then we mean the creation of a free society based on the model of the free, Western world." Socialist property, which, in reality, does not belong to anyone, must be privatized. "According to our tradition we are closely linked with Central Europe and with Germany," Tudjman said. "This is why Croatia has absolutely nothing against the fact that following its reunification, Germany becomes once again the most important European power—both economically and politically."

One realized a long time ago that it would have made more sense to preserve the monarchy of the Habsburgs as the core of a united Europe. The double monarchy fell apart because there was not enough understanding for the solution of the nationality question. Today a community of free peoples is emerging in Europe. By way of a conclusion Tudjman said: "In line with its geopolitical situation and its cultural and economic interests, Croatia will have closer ties with Germany than with any other country."

Christian Democratic Party Secretary Resigns

LD2604000390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1444 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Summary] Zagreb, 25 Apr (TANJUG)—Secretary and member of the Croatian Christian Democratic Party Presidium [Hrvatska Krscanska Demokratska Stranka—HKDS], Vlado Marovic, today handed in his resignation. He explained that he could not agree with the decision of Dr. Ivan Cesar, vice president of the party, on joining the Coalition of National Accord, because it is an artificial coalition, which the results of the elections showed as well. According to him, the majority of party members share the same opinion.

Coalition Accord on Croatian Elections

LD2504182390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1357 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Zagreb, 25 Apr (TANJUG)—The joint committee of the Coalition of National Accord [koalicija narodnog sporazuma] today held a meeting to discuss as yet incomplete results of elections in Croatia. It was said that in the main centers a final decision is yet to be made and that the most important decision will be made in the second round of voting.

The coalition will fight in the second round as united as before and is therefore calling on voters to give support to its program and its candidates. It is particularly appealing to those sections of the electorate that did not vote in the first round, asking them to give support to the coalition and its position in Croat Democratic Center, so necessary for introducing democracy in Croatia.

A parliament without a strong opposition cannot be expected to be the driving force behind democratic life, the Coalition said in conclusion.

Serbian LC Supports Resuming LCY Congress

LD2504214790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1438 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Apr (TANJUG)—Proceedings from the Serbian LC's [League of Communists] commitment to radical democratic changes in the LCY [LC of Yugoslavia] and its preservation and development as Yugoslav organization, the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium supports the LCY Central Committee Presidium's proposal that the 14th extraordinary congress be resumed next month as a congress of LCY renewal.

This is stressed in a statement from today's session of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, chaired by Bogdan Trifunovic. A report on the preparations for the next session of the LCY Central Committee, scheduled for 4 May this year, and the current political situation in Kosovo were considered at this session.

The statement maintains that the congress of the LCY's renewal should adopt a statement which would underline that the declaration is the LCY's temporary program document which ensure its program continunity and pass a decision on drawing up a new program and statute of the LCY. At this congress the organs of the LCY would be relieved of their duties, among other things, and a committee for preparing a new congress, which would act as the LCY leadership until this congress, would be elected.

The policy of the Serbian LC and the program on Kosovo—as it was assessed—are being implemented successfully in spite of difficulties and the resistance and speculations of Albanian chauvinists and separatists and their aides in the country and abroad. The Presidium concluded therefore that the implementation of the program for peace, freedom, equality, democracy and prosperity in Kosovo should be continued resolutely. At the same time the measures, which the republic is implementing to make the law-governed state in Kosovo function more effectively, were supported—it says at the end of the statement.

Reaction to Serbian Communist Party Reform

AU2504140490 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14-15 Apr 90 p 13

[Zdravko Huber article: "Reformers Between Two Fires"]

[Text] A month has gone by since the leaders of the Serbian Communists announced their intention to transform their league into a party for democratic socialism. The appearance of a new program document at the March session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists [LC] of Serbia at which the social-democratic turnaround of the until recent—as they were thought to be—traditional Communists, was quite a surprise. Indeed, the better informed had spoken earlier about the existence of reform and orthodox currents among this republic's Communists. During pre-congress and congress quarrels in the now already defunct League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the LC of Serbia more loudly broadcast traditional Leninist views of the role of and relations within the Communist organization.

At the March plenum, the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia showed itself in quite a different light. This session submitted to the membership and public a document entitled "The Basic Orientations of the LC of Serbia as a Party for Democratic Socialism," which heralds the final abandonment of the Bolshevik model of the party and to a great extent also redefines the aims to which the LC of Serbia is committed.

The party organizations in Serbia have been debating this document over the last few months. What the creators of the new platform will take as the most important elements in the discussion will be seen when it is officially summarized. The document has been accepted as a good and intelligent document at many meetings of loyal LC members. It could probably be claimed that this was the most frequent assessment of the reform platform.

Old Communist Feeling

However, the announced social-democratic turnaround did not pass without criticism or misgivings about what was being proposed. One challenge to what the Serbian Communist reformists were aiming at came from democrats of a noncommunist orientation. They obviously were not very fascinated by the level of emancipation of the new Communists from traditional Communist ideology. Thus, professor Nikola Milosevic in edition two of the newly published DEMOKRATIJA newspaper of the Democratic Party says with unconcealed sarcasm that the very fact that Serbian Communists invoke Marx and Svetozar Markovic as the supreme experts on economic issues shows to what extent their sharp turnaround from ideology to economy can be believed. Professor Milosevic scathingly concludes that Serbian Communists are not actually interested in an efficient economy but in efficient political control over the economy. The DEMOKRACIJA writer sees arguments for this claim in the fact that Communists still intend to retain the "work principle of the organization" of the party, that is to say to retain basic organizations in enterprises, which according to Milosevic actually means the preservation of the Communist management of the economy.

For those who want some insight into the balance of power among the Communists themselves—or more precisely within the party core which mostly determines what will finally result from the announced reform—the most interesting thing is to hear what kind of criticisms of the orientations of the LC of Serbia as a party of democratic socialism have been voiced at the party discussion forums themselves. The leaders of the Central

Committee of the LC of Serbia, who are unofficially known to be the fathers of this program, have recently been widely touring the so-called workers community and have basically been receiving support for their program at party meetings in large firms. Here and there and among workers, Communists of the old school have been appearing who do not support an abandonment of old ideals and the social-democratization of the party. They received a response from Ratomir Vico, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia, who was also the introductory speaker at the Central Committee session when the program was launched, at a meeting of "Jugopetrol" Communists. As he said, he is not in the least worried about the similarities between the new Serbian program and those of social democratic parties in developed Europe. According to Vico, the parties in these countries say that the secret of their success actually lies in wide social agreement over the foundations of society and its values. It would be good, Vico thought, if we could also achieve this agreement.

Hard Line at the University

It could be said that the strongest criticism of the program has been voiced at the university and among some Communist journalists, who are still the most powerful people in their editorial offices.

Thus, at a discussion forum held by the Belgrade Marxist Center at the economics faculty, it was openly said that the Serbian Communists are moving to the right. In the opinion of some participants in the meeting, not even modern European social-democracy is still left wing, but occupies the center, so that the social-democratization of the Serbian Communists is not a progressive act. The most authoritative participant in this debate, academician, Mihailo Markovic opposed the scrapping of social ownership, and the document was also criticized for very coyly mentioning the workers class and self-management.

A report appeared in POLITIKA on 10 March on a meeting held at an unknown time by Communists at Belgrade University, at which this document was seriously undermined.

The explicit title of this report ("Unfounded Document of Retreats and Compromises") sufficiently shows how the reform platform of the LC of Serbia was assessed at this session. The "Communists" from the university (the report does not say which forum is involved here) see this document more as a short-term election manifesto than as a complete program. The leadership of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia was criticized for having begun to retreat to the defensive after several successful actions and victorious battles. Dr. Danilo Markovic attempted to defend the old programmatic principles of the party with the argument that was once used by constitutionalists, stating that the 1974 Constitution is good and only its application has not been good. Markovic applied this logic to the program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, asking himself and others: Has the way that we practice socialism failed because it was theoretically founded on the principles of Marxism and the program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia or because we acted as if the program did not exist?

It could also be heard—critically—that the new document is aimed at those parts of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia which were until recently criticized by the Serbian Communists. The serious allegation in the title of the aforementioned article was made by Radomir Saranovic. According to him, the reform platform is a document full of withdrawals and retreats in the face of some foreign or internal force. The document, Saranovic thinks, does not stem from the organic need for reform but is the result of many compromises. Therefore, this "university Communist" expressed the fear that the ambivalence of the new program could lead to a split in the LC of Serbia just as similar documents from western parts of the country have led to a split in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Surmounting Divisions

Equally sharp remarks but in a different tone were made by journalists, who are party activists, in the City Committee of the LC of Belgrade. It was said that this new program was compiled quickly, that it is incomplete and with many gaps, and that it is a mixture of an unsuccessful election program and a list of what the Communists advocate. Some others said that this document was 20 years late and that it was written by people who cannot abandon the single-party cliche.

The Statutory Commission of the LC of Serbia has a more restrictive view of party reform than the Central Committee. At a session of this forum—which is by the way in some ways equal to the Central Committee as it is elected by the congress—it could be heard that one should be very cautious about possibly changing the name of the party. The Statutory Commission members do not agree with the proposal that religious believers could also be members of the party. The most that could be permitted them is for them to be sympathizers and voters.

The initiators of the reform turnaround in the LC of Serbia probably did not bank on general support and, as can be seen, they did not receive it either. On the one hand, their new platform is looked upon skeptically by "revengeful people" who cannot forget previous Communist sins (and, unfortunately for Communists, they have a lot to remember). Communist reformers could possibly bank on a thawing on this side only when they show through practical behavior on the social scene that they are able to rid themselves of some of the habits of their ideological predecessors.

As concerns the conflict with the other side that challenges the new program, the reformers should be supported as much as possible, even if their program does not mean a full democratic turnaround. After all, this

second dogmatic-bolshevik line offers much less. It offers entrenchment in an old ideology that has definitely not been endorsed in social practice.

In the specific conditions in which Yugoslav Communists find themselves, the rejection of changes also means the hopeless concretization of the present confrontations in a split League of Communists of Yugoslavia. The reform currents within all the republican LC's are, objectively speaking, harmonizing their views. This has still not led to a renewal of the devastated League of Communists of Yugoslavia, but if there is any hope of its revitalization then this lies only in reform programs.

Demos To Propose Peterle To Form Government

LD2504220190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1647 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Ljubljana, April 25 (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the Democratic United Opposition of Slovenia (DEMOS), the coalition of seven parties which won the recent multi-party elections in Yugoslavian Republic of Slovenia will propose Lojze Peterle, president of the Christian Democratic Party, as mandatary to form a new Slovenian government.

The Demos Presidency will also propose Dr Franci Bucar, president of another member of the coalition, the Slovene Democratic Alliance Council, for president of Slovenia's parliament.

Lojze Peterle, born in 1948, graduated in geography and history at the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana. He was among the first a few years ago to publicly declare himself a Christian Democrat with political ambitions. Late last year he engaged in politics profesionally and fully devoted himself to this goal.

Dr Franci Bucar, a retired university professor at law, was born in 1923. He advocates stands on the necessity of change in the outdated, impaired and incomplete socio-economic system of Slovenia.

Ribicic Details Party Talks With Army Officials

AU2504160190 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Apr 90 p 6

[D. Draskovic report: "Communists Account for Themselves to DEMOS"]

[Text] Ljubljana—Since Janez Jansa, vice president of the Slovene Democratic Alliance, "correctly and politely asked on 14 April about the content of talks between the LCS [former initials of the Slovene League of Communists]-Party of Democratic Reform [PDR] and the organization of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] in the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA]"—as Ciril Ribicic stated in his reply—the LCS-PDR has decided to give him an immediate answer. In accounting for the party's activities, Dr. Ribicic states that since he has been at the head of the LCS-PDR delegation, both organizations have met three times for official talks. The first time was prior to the 14th LCY congress, the second was soon afterwards in Ljubljana, and the third time was in March in Belgrade. On all three occasions, the delegation of the LCY organization in the JNA was headed by the late Petar Simic and the LCS-PDR delegation was led by Dr. Ribicic twice and Sonja Lokar once.

Dr. Ribicic states that the public has been regularly informed of all the meetings. Moreover, the basic content of the talks and the differences in assessments among the representatives of both organizations have also been highlighted. The main topics of the talks were relations within the LCY, differences in views on cooperation and links between republican organizations, differences in views on the role of the JNA and the LCY organization in the JNA, and also views on some domestic and foreign policy events. "At all meetings, our side (Sonja Lokar, Lev Kreft, Peter Bekes, Bogo Gorjan, Stefan Korosec, Silvo Komar, and Boris Muzevic) stressed the need for profound democratic reforms in the states with socialist titles in general and in Slovenia and Yugoslavia in particular, and analyzed the possible consequences which these reforms would necessarily have on the role of the JNA and the destiny of the LCY in the JNA. In these talks, the now deceased Admiral Petar Simic demonstrated greater willingness for direct dialogue, understanding of the democratic processes in Slovenia and Yugoslavia, and for changing the role of the LCY organization in JNA than the other representative from the LCY in the JNA, Stane Brovet."

Dr. Ciril Ribicic then states that after the talks in Ljubljana, relations between the two organizations became quite cool. The constant contacts that had developed before the congress at sessions of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LCY were stopped and the mutual exchange of information between Admiral Simic and Dr. Ribicic soon dried up completely. The main cause was probably the conclusions of the conference of the LCS which were very sharply criticized by the LCY organization in the JNA and by Simic personally (in their assessment, the election manifesto of the LCS-PDR meant the final abandonment of socialism and at the same time demanded the introduction of a republican army). In the LCS-PDR, we particularly sharply reacted to the suggestion by the LCY organization in the JNA that a parallel LCY be set up for Slovenia," Ribicic tells Jansa.

After the personal meetings, Dr. Ribicic talked on the telephone with Admiral Simic three other occasions. The first time, he made arrangements with him for a meeting between the two delegations in Belgrade. The second time—as he tells Jansa—he very sharply conveyed his disagreement with the assessments that Simic made at a session of the committee of his organization.

"I made it plain to him that he had deviated from his previous 'neutral' position and biasedly attacked the LCS-PDR and the LCC [former initials of the League of Communists of Croatia]-Party of Democratic Renewal. I

particularly criticized him for accusing the LCC-Party of Democratic Renewal of causing national divisions within the LCY," writes Dr. Ribicic. The leader of the LCS-PDR goes on to say that it is unacceptable to blame only one side because, as he put it, the divisions began after the 8th session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia.

On the third occasion, Dr. Ribicic and Admiral Simic spoke on the phone the day before Veljko Kadijevic's visit to the republic of Slovenia. Dr. Ribicic states that he tried to convince Admiral Simic that the announced visit was unacceptable and the response to this was that it was too late to postpone it.

"After the latest conflict which we had concerning the charges that were filed against Dr. Pucnik, Veljko Kadijevic said that as far he was concerned Ciril Ribicic no longer exists," the leader of the LCS-PDR says.

Party Leader Claims Electoral Malpractice

LD2504223490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1415 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, 25 April (TANJUG)—The Alliance for the Preservation of Equality of Citizens from Ljubljana claims that recent elections in Slovenia were "undemocratic, discriminatory toward the nonnational option and irregular."

During his news conference in the international news center today Dragisa Marojevic, this Alliance's chairman, stressed that "the voting papers on which a circle had been properly entered round the names of the candidates of the Alliance were deliberately and wilfully declared invalid." The results of this action, Marojevic explained, was that the Alliance, which officially gained 2.46 percent of the poll, was only 422 votes "short" to reach the 2.5 percent margin of the electoral vote securing in this way two seats in the parliament.

Marojevic claims that his Alliance can prove his allegations and that at least 422 valid voting papers which the Alliance needs to be represented in the parliament could be found in one of the 14 electoral units. However, there is the danger now that the valid papers could be "spoiled" and the trial of the abuse suppressed.

The Republican Electoral Commission and the commissions in the electoral units have rejected the possibility of the statements in the complaint being checked by providing an insight into electoral documentation.

Marojevic and his party associates said that there were many Slovenes among the 12,000 members of this party "whose names cannot be made public because they would be proclaimed traitors to their nation." Vejsil Horozovic, chairman of the Alliance section in Jesenice, claims that the impression is being perfidiously foisted in Slovenia that the Alliance is "a Serb and Milosevic's mercenary party," although it gathers together members of all Yugoslav nations and nationalities (there are a few Albanians among the members) and works for genuine equality and the "Yugoslavia Now" slogan. According to this Alliance's information, which is based on statistical sources, between 300,000 and 400,000 members of other Yugoslav nations and nationalities live in Slovenia which is 15-20 percent of this republic's total population.

Newspapers Comment on Vlasi Acquittal

LD2504132690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1040 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, April 25 (TANJUG)—The entire Yugoslav press today comments on the acquittal of former party leader of the Yugoslav Autonomous Province of Kosovo Azem Vlasi and 14 economic managers by the court in Titova Mitrovica.

The Zagreb daily VJESNIK, published in the Republic of Croatia, believes that the acquittal is a "logical outcome" and that it will probably close the last page in the black book of post-war staged political processes in Yugoslavia."

The Ljubljana daily DELO says that the acquittal of Vlasi still does not mean that "the state will save face," if the indictment was a "political document," not based on "determining tangible and legally punishable offences."

The Sarajevo daily OSLOBODJENJE, published in the republic of Bosnia-Heregovina, sees the court decision as a symbolic announcement of the hardliners yielding to the demands for a democratization of life in the province and a good-will gesture of the authorities towards the alternative scene."

Vlasi and the 14 Kosovo economic managers were charged with counter-revolutionary activities against the socialist system—a crime which carries the penalty from 10 years imprisonment to death sentence. They were accused on initiating and organizing ethnic Albanian separatist demonstrations in Kosovo in November 1988 and the strike of ethnic Albanian miners at the Stari Trg mine in February 1989, which grew into an armed rebellion of ethnic Albanian separatists and chauvinists. The Yugoslav State Presidency was then forced to introduce emergency measures in the province, which have recent been fully lifted.

The defendants spent almost 14 months in detention. With interruptions, their marathon trial lasted from October 30, 1989 to April 24, this year.

Macedonian Paper Comments on Serbian Attacks

AU2604073590 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 1 Apr 90 p 2

[Milan Banov commentary: "Poisonous Type"]

[Text] In the democratic processes in society that have obviously been opened, public media did not remain unaffected by the broad democratic wave which gives a

chance to journalism to resume the dignity which it has lost to some extent. In conformity with the spirit of the times, the newspapers have opened their pages to hot topics that were considered a real heresy only a while ago. Unfortunately, in the name of democracy, some people allow their pages to be manipulated and to become an arena for promoting narrow national interests and a place for affirming everything that is "their own" and denying everything that belongs to "others." The recent violent attacks against Macedonia on the part of the Serbian press, which are particularly evident in articles carried by publications issued by the POLITIKA house, make it clear to us that journalists in the east have not managed to evade completely the influence of the powerful bureaucratic-statist apparatus and to cut off their links with politicians.

If one opens POLITIKA of yesterday, or the day before yesterday, or today, the newspaper's orientation becomes obvious. If one opens any one of other publications issued by the POLITIKA house, including even POLITIKIN ZABAVNIK, a weekly for children, not a single question will remain about whether they have become mirrors of their national truth, interpreters of the desires and needs of the current political leadership of the republic, newspapers with a set task of absolutizing the national program, and the bridge over which politicians' interests are pushed toward the people.

The Strongest Variant

After Kosovo, Vojvodina, Montenegro, Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina, now it is Macedonia's turn and it will round off the list of all those who have to be accused and attacked for their (occasional) disagreement with present Serbian policies. Finally, the assertion that we made recently—"POLITIKA versus everybody"—is justified.

The campaign against the Socialist Republic of Macedonia that this newspaper house and a large section of other Serbian newspapers have launched through their articles recently is probably something to be expected, considering the development of events in Yugoslavia. However, few people could expect the Socialist Republic of Macedonia and the republican party leadership to find themselves a target of such a violent and aggressive attack literally unheard of in the history of Yugoslav journalism. In the midst of the heated media war, Macedonia daily faces numerous attacks, accusations, imputations, manipulations, and insinuations, but those which the newspapers led by POLITIKA are doing now is doubtlessly the strongest type of media attack, such as has not been launched even against the "notorious enemies," the Slovenes.

With the present distribution of power on the Yugoslav political map, nobody should be surprised—on the contrary, it is completely logical—that Montenegro and Vojvodina, that is, their leading political dailies, POBJEDA and DNEVNIK, following a fast of several years, are suddenly widely interested in the "undemocratic" situation in the southern republic. Thus, the "principled coalition" of the press in Serbia, Montenegro, and Vojvodina is filling its pages today and trying to persuade the public that the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, "manipulated" by its party leadership—which is by the way "antidemocratic and bureaucratic,"—has decided to destroy the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and Yugoslavia in general.

A Clear Intention

After the antibureaucratic revolution was carried out, the Serbian press, together with one in another Yugoslav region, has launched an unprecedented campaign against the Socialist Republic of Macedonia and—we have checked—in a single week has published more negative articles about our republic, full of unmeasured statements, insinuations, and fabrications than it carried in two full years before. As an illustration, yesterday's POLITIKA "bestowed" upon Macedonia exactly 10 offending articles. The intention is clear and excludes any fortuity.

It is high time one asked since when does Macedonia provoke such interest by this section of the press and what Macedonia has done to deserve such an aggressive assault.

It was assumed and even known that the public media in Serbia, and POLITIKA in particular, are run from bureaucratic-statist offices and that their role is to be the mouthpiece of the present political leadership and to express its interests. However, this received an official confirmation yesterday in the announcement of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Serbia. The public media were doing that before, but since yesterday, the official politicians of the neighboring republic have launched an attack against and started settling accounts with the Socialist Republic of Macedonia and particularly with Petar Gosev, president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Macedonia.

The recent disagreement with the Serbian policy that a Macedonian delegation expressed by their absence from the session—that is, a working and consultative meeting—of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and later with the Letter [issued by the meeting to the grassroots on the 14th congress], is only the latest occasion to attack Macedonia. The real reason is completely different and it should certainly be sought within Serbia's failure to accept the fact that the Socialist Republic of Macedonia can think on its own, that it does not accept dictates and impositions, and that it is the Yugoslav option alone that it recognizes as valid.

Open Valve

On various occasions, being consistent in its orientation toward a united Yugoslavia and in maintaining its principled stands, many times to date has the Socialist

Republic of Macedonia openly expressed its disagreement with many activities of the Serbian political leadership and with events in that republic. However, surprisingly, journalists in Serbia have ignored and swallowed "attacks" launched by the fraternal republic, reckoning until the last moment that the Socialist Republic of Macedonia would peacefully turn to further settling of accounts with "conservative" and "undemocratic" powers in Yugoslavia.

The national leaders have finally lost all patience, and the valve has been opened to let the avalanche of the poisonous lead type pour toward Macedonia, just because it thinks differently from the Serbian political leadership. The Serbian press has finally got the chance to round off the list of "enemies" and to enrich the content of its articles with the last Yugoslav theme that has been left uncovered—attacks against Macedonia. The reasons are not only the stands of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Macedonia and the Letter, but also many others that now, after one vote has been lost, can only be expected.

Montenegrin National Party Statement Issued

LD2504135190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1008 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Titograd, 25 Apr (TANJUG)—We are surprised that the Democratic Forum has decided to put the issue of Montenegro's statehood on its agenda since, in our view, this issue is an axiomatic truth and since at the time when we are preparing to change to a multiparty system it is not desirable to have anyone delivering lessons to others let alone to use Zhdanov-like methods to prescribe the forms of thinking, morale, or feelings.

This was stressed in a statement for the public by the founding committee of the Montenegro National Party in which its members draw reference to the last session of the Democratic Forum which discussed the issue of Montenegro's statehood and in that context referred to the National Party's stand to the effect that if other Yugoslav republics fail to agree, Montenegro and Serbia should go ahead and form a federal republic of Yugoslavia, an act which would imply the unity of two states populated by the same nation.

The National Party founding committee is surprised that the Democratic Forum should be so upset and find it necessary to warn of threats from Serbia at the time that the map of greater Albania which incorporates half of Montenegro is being distributed throughout Europe. It is strange that the issue of alleged danger from Serbia was raised on the very day of the creation of a new NDH [Independent State of Croatia] which during the last war had disturbing intentions toward Montenegro. The National Party representatives go on to say in their statement that the Democratic Forum includes people notorious for their claims that Montenegrins are not of Serbian origin.

The National Party founding committee also used this opportunity to call for "an end to the humiliating one-minute silence every 4 May in commemoration of the death of Josip Broz Tito." It also wants to see the law safeguarding Tito's name and work abolished.

New Information TV Program To Be Broadcast

LD2504224690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1837 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, April 25 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav TV program is to be launched this autumn, government press spokesman Darko Marin announced here today.

The idea of a Yugoslav TV channel was initiated by Prime Minister Ante Markovic's government early this year after assessing current programmes of the six republican and two provincial TV centres as too local.

Assessing it as very likely that Yugoslavia's information space would further disintegrate, Marin argued that the Yugoslav TV channel should provide the public at home and abroad with objective and timely information about events at the federal level, especially in organs of the federation.

For a start, the Yugoslav TV programme will be informative in character and will be broadcast six hours a day. It is anticipated, however, that the programme, expanded and diversified, will also be broadcast via satellite to Europe and the Mediterranean countries in 1991.

This government project will be carried out jointly with the Yugoslav Television. The future channel, however, will have its own editorial staff and its programme and financing will be open, with a possibility of foreign capital investment.